

21 f.438. A Koran page in Indian *Thuluth* script (No.21, p.57).

calligraphic tradition and of schools of manuscript illumination. It is inconceivable that the 13th- and 14th-century rulers of Delhi, to whose capital flocked scholars and literati from the rest of the Islamic world, would be willing to tolerate anything but the finest work. Illuminated manuscripts of these first two centuries of Islamic rule in India would then, at their finest, probably be indistinguishable from Iranian work. However, a solitary page from what appears to be a 14th-century Koran does indicate some independent development. Three lines of excellent large *Rayḥānī* script in black are surrounded on the three outer sides by inscriptions in red Kufic with knotted red and black motifs in the outer corners. This displays the dignity of the Īl-khānīd Korans combined with a massiveness altogether suited to the Tughluq dynasty at the height of its power in the mid-14th century. But when the centralized Muslim culture of India collapsed towards the end of the 14th century, being given its death-blow by Tīmūr's invasion of 1398, the independent states which emerged were able to develop their own cultures free both of Delhi and the outside Islamic world, and it is then that we first find radical developments in the book arts in the direction of an Indian identity of their own.

This first finds expression in the calligraphic arts. There developed in India a variety of *Naskhī* called the *Khatt-i Behār*, or *Behārī* script, which employs long horizontal flourishes of the pen on the line, with comparatively short verticals, and has quite large intervals between words, giving an oddly hesitant look to this combination of flowing and staccato rhythms. The meaning of the term *Behārī* is obscure—attempts have recently been made to link it to the Arabic word for spring, but this fanciful explanation is inferior to one which explains this purely Indian phenomenon in Indian terms, *i.e.* the script of Bihar. Why it should be named after this region of India, however, is unclear, for no great Islamic centre flourished there, unless Jaunpur could also be included in Bihar in Persian terminology. However this may be, why *Naskhī* should have developed in this way is obscure also; *Behārī* is neither elegant nor monumental, and possibly arose out of Indian scribes' first efforts at *Naskhī*, a schoolroom script for provincials, which, when Tīmūr's invasion destroyed the unity of the Delhi Sultanate and Delhi's metropolitan claims and contacts with the rest of the Islamic world, became elevated to the status of a Koranic script. The earliest known Koran in this script is dated 801/1399, from Gwalior (No.18), a provincial fortress in central India, and displays a great variety of ornamental motifs, taken both from Iranian and Indian sources. These shed little light on Tughluq illumination, although from the geometrical frontispiece it may be inferred that 14th-century Delhi had studios in which the Īl-Khānīd type of illumination was practised, and that some of this work was known in the provinces. Likewise it would appear that in Delhi Kufic was used in the headings and inscriptional panels of Korans, and that this was known also in the provinces, but, like the geometrical frontispieces, knowledge of, and ability to use, these elements of illumination must have practically disappeared with the destruction of Delhi. They are found in no manuscript of the Koran from India after 1399. The scribe must have been a provincial calligrapher, practising a script that would not have been tolerated for royal Koran manuscripts in Delhi, and it is he who doubtless attempted the shaky Kufic of some of the inscriptional panels. Another, and far superior calligrapher, wrote



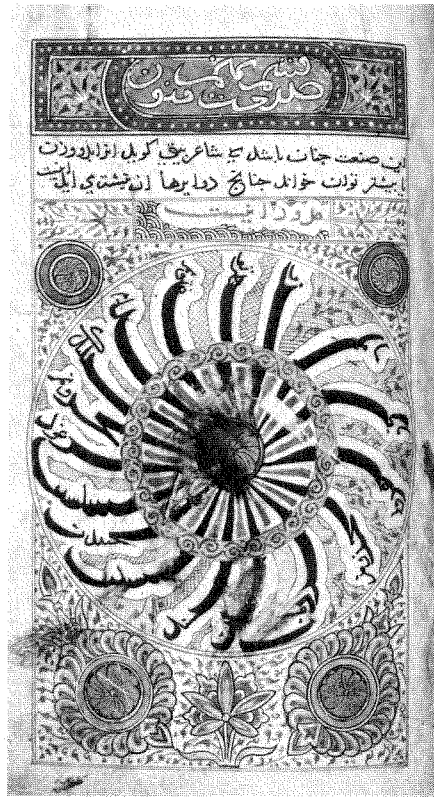
20 f.110b. *Sūrah* heading (*sarlah*) and marginal decoration (*shamsa*). The *Behārī* script is fully developed (No.20, p.56).

the other Kufic headings and probably also the fine *Thuluth* inscriptions on all the other illuminated pages. There was no shortage of fine calligraphers using *Thuluth* in 15th-century India (No.21).

The basic structure of the illumination of the Gwalior Koran, in which central panels of the text beginning each of the 30 *jūz* into which the Koran is divided, are surrounded by four panels of illuminations with prolongations of the upper and lower ones into the margin, with large projecting *ansas* between, is echoed in several other fairly crude Korans of the 15th century which all have some 30 illuminated double-pages, and use the *Behārī* script. This group of Korans is usually of medium height, on very crude paper which the acidic green pigments have invariably eaten away, and generally does not have any marginal illuminations marking the passage of the verses. It is difficult to believe that they are of royal provenance, and they were probably made for patrons of no great social standing. The general style of the Gwalior Koran of 1399 may, however, have spread to Delhi in the early 15th century, which under the Sayyid and Lodī dynasties (1414–1526) remained a sad shadow of its former self for much of the century and incapable of supporting much artistic endeavour, far less than the other courts. This group of Korans then possibly represents the Delhi school of the period.

A Koran manuscript in *Behārī* script in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, with a dated colophon gives us the key to the chronology of another group of these manuscripts. The date is slightly obscured, but probably reads 926/1520. The calligrapher has employed various devices which are typically Indian, including using the margins for subsidiary matter in a decorative manner. The illuminative content is again typical of several other Korans, consisting of five illuminated margins around the beginnings of key chapters of the text, of double frames, the inner of blue and crimson with gold tracery, the outer of a creeper, with alternate full and expanding lotuses, either in colours or in gold tracery over blue; of marginal medallions either pear-shaped with finials above and below, in blue or blue and crimson, with gold tracery, or circular with heavy use of orange with dark orange flower designs; and of chapter headings usually of gold script over blue or a pink criss-cross design, with orange in-fill designs at either end of the panel, and rudimentary palmettes almost disappearing behind the frame.

By and large this particular manuscript is crude, and suggests that it is at the end of a tradition rather than the beginning. Another Koran, undated, also in the Salar Jung Museum, is in the same tradition, but suggests because of its much higher quality and subtle differences a somewhat earlier date. The heavy use of crimson in the 1520 manuscript is paralleled by a similar development in illustrated Jaina manuscripts of the period after 1500; crimson is a costly pigment, sparingly used in the 15th century, which suddenly became much more widely used in the 16th. This second Koran uses crimson much more sparingly. The arabesque and creeper designs are much bolder, freer and far more beautiful, the medallions much more inventive in their illuminative content, many of them being suggestive of the textile designs seen in Jaina paintings of the 15th century. It is to the latter part of this century that it may be dated, along with a less ambitious Koran in the British Library (No.20). There are enough of such Korans surviving to suggest a definite school flourishing in the latter part of the 15th and first part of the 16th centuries. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the absence of such



19 f.153. Illuminated verbal puzzle (No.19, p.56).

manuscripts from the Mughal period, with its renewed powerful influence from Iran in the book arts. Comparison with other manuscripts of the period around 1500, suggests that only Delhi itself and Jaunpur are possible provenances, to the former of which we have already assigned the crude school of Koranic illumination mentioned above. Jaunpur, however, on the evidence of a manuscript produced there in 1400 with a very individual illuminative content (No.19) may be considered a distinct possibility for this type of work. The development of this school in the neighbourhood of Bihar may also explain the title *Behārī* given to the script.

Normal Middle Eastern *Thuluth* was a serpentine, static script, used mostly for chapter-headings and inscriptions. In India there developed in the early 15th century a more dynamic variety, with tall slanting uprights and onward-sweeping sub-linear curves and flourishes, used for large one-volume Korans. Everything about the Koran known to have been in the library of Sultan Mahmūd Bigarha of Gujarat in 1488 (No.21) points to a Gujarati origin c.1425-75, since its illumination contains decorative motifs found in contemporary Gujarati illustrated manuscripts. An even more ambitious and better preserved manuscript in the Rampur State Library is in this same majestic *Thuluth* and has four illuminated double-pages with frames of rich floral and arabesque designs, as well as chapter-headings and marginal ornaments in the same style.

These three groups of Korans are the surviving evidence for independent schools of illumination which we have assigned to Delhi, Jaunpur and Ahmadabad. Nonetheless the different types of Koranic illumination may have been practised in other centres also, or have been more widespread. The rich kingdoms of Bengal, Malwa and the Deccan must have produced schools of Koran illumination, but at the moment we have no knowledge of them whatsoever.

Although the rulers of Delhi before 1400 were able to attract to their court scholars and poets from other parts of the Islamic world, there is no evidence that they were able to attract artists. Yet painters must have flourished in Delhi: the institutes of Firoz Shāh Tughluq (1351-88) state that he had the wall paintings in the palace covered up, while the *Candāyana* of Maulānā Dā'ūd written in the same reign refers to palace wall-paintings with Hindu themes (No.46). Although there is not a single reference to manuscript illustration being practised at the Delhi court in this period, there is now known a considerable number of illustrated Persian and Avadhi manuscripts from the period between 1400 and the advent of the Mughals. These manuscripts may be divided into three broad groups. The first, work in basic Iranian styles, is in two parts, the earlier being a controversial group of mid-15th-century manuscripts of the Persian classics, which are in a simplified or provincial Timurid idiom, with characteristics which are archaic or provincial but not necessarily Indian (Nos.22-3). This type of work, basically metropolitan Persian but executed in India, is better documented by the second part of this group, manuscripts securely linked to Mandu, Bengal and Golconda in the 16th century, in which the Indian characteristics are more pronounced (Nos.40-4, 47-9). A second group consists of a small number of manuscripts probably not connected with any Muslim court but produced for other patrons, in which are found archaic elements from the 14th-century Mamluk and Inju styles as well as medieval Indian



23 f.40b. The evil Zuhhāk is brought before Faridūn. The attendant appears to think the tent is a parasol (No.23, p.58).

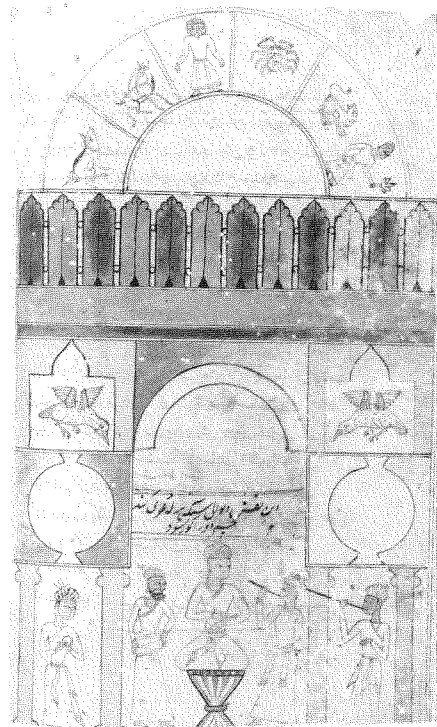
characteristics. They date from the mid-15th century (Nos.33-4). The third group consists of two lovely 16th-century manuscripts of the *Candāyana* of Maulānā Dā'ūd, in which Persian and Indian elements are thoroughly synthesized (Nos.45-6).

All aspects of Indian painting in the 15th and 16th centuries are hotly disputed, even the terminology. It is proposed here to use the term Sultanate to refer to all the above groups collectively, with further subdivisions as necessary. The Delhi Sultanate is a convenient term coined by historians to differentiate the period c.1200 to 1526 from the old Indian states system which preceded it and the Mughal imperium which followed it, and we propose to use the term here to mean all manuscripts and painting done by or for Muslims during this period.

The briefest outline of events in Iran is necessary here. Despite general Muslim disapproval of the art of painting, it flourished in the form of manuscript illustration in the various courts of Iran under royal patronage. The earliest styles have been lost, but were doubtless similar to Arab painting at Baghdad in the 13th century. The conquest of Iran by the Mongols in this same century brought considerable Chinese influence to bear, particularly at Tabriz in the first half of the 14th century, although in the south, in Shiraz, work continued in the old way. Most of this 14th-century work is based on a horizontal viewpoint without a landscape tradition. However, towards the end of the century, in the Jalayrid courts at Baghdad and Tabriz, and at the Shiraz court of the Muzaffarids, the normal viewpoint was lifted, thus affording to the painter a new world of landscape (now terminated by a high horizon) and new possibilities of spatial relationships between figures. The conquest by Tīmūr at the end of the century did nothing to upset this development, and indeed under his descendants in the 15th century, the Timurids, Iranian painting reached its greatest heights.

Our first group of manuscripts with miniatures based on the Timurid style of Shiraz of the early 15th century, have been attributed by various scholars to 15th-century India, although none has a provenance. They are linked together by a generally simple appearance. They are usually in horizontal format across the page, or sometimes squarer in shape with text columns on either side, towards the bottom of the page, both formats recalling 14th-century Persian painting. Other archaisms and oddities have also been pointed out by Ettinghausen and Fraad, which, while mostly incontrovertible, do not actually point to India rather than to any other provincial centre away from the Timurid courts of Iran; archaisms and provincialisms also occur in 15th-century Iranian paintings, such as in the British Library's Dunimarle *Shāhnāma* from Mazandaran or in the Central Asian styles. Nonetheless, there is a basic core of material which does suggest an Indian provenance, of which the Mohl *Shāhnāma* (No.22) has perhaps the best claim, as stylistic arguments are in this instance backed up by other evidence.

However, it is difficult to reconcile the apparent existence of these Timurid styles in the first half of the 15th century with the facts of Indian history and with the proven examples of Indian Muslim painting produced at the same time and in the early 16th century (see below). The most important group of these Timurid manuscripts of suggested Indian provenance are dated during the period 1420-50. Delhi may be ruled out as a provenance, and there is no evidence of the provincial sultans patronizing artists until later in the century. However, the *Sharafnāma*



43 f.7b. Diagram illustrating the façade of a water-powered clock, in which musicians sound the hours (No.43, p.68).

produced in Bengal in 1531 (No.44), whose style is based on that of early 15th-century Shiraz and incorporates Mongol archaicisms, argues that Bengal at least had a Timurid school.

The picture becomes much clearer by 1500. A group of manuscripts (Nos.40–3) is known from Mandu c.1490–1510, in which the direct influence of new Iranian styles is visible, *i.e.* those of the Turkman style of Shiraz, and of Herat. The Khaljī Sultans of Malwa would seem to have imported artists and possibly manuscripts from Iran, and had the style copied by their own artists. Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Khaljī on coming to the throne in 1569 announced that henceforth his life would be one not of statecraft but of pleasure, and his biographer records with admiration his single-minded devotion to this principle. Although he had hundreds of women taught the various arts and sciences to amuse him, there is no mention of painting being one of them. However, the facts speak for themselves, for four illustrated manuscripts are associated with the Khaljī rulers. The earliest, a lectionary by a Mandu author, is illustrated in the purest Turkman style of Shiraz (No.40), and the artist must have come to Mandu about 1490. While there, he would appear to have trained at least two Mandu artists in the Shiraz style, and their work, much more Indianized, is seen in the cookery-book, the *Nīmatnāma* (No.41), begun for Ghiyāth ad-Dīn and completed under his successor Nāsir ad-Dīn (1500–10). For the latter was illustrated about 1500–02 a *Būstān* of Sa’dī (No.42) in the Herati manner with the artists, again at least two, copying from a Herat manuscript but with improvisations of their own. The last of the four manuscripts, dated in 1509 (No.43), is a copy of an Arabic automata manuscript, but gives some hints as to the origin of the early Deccani styles. All these manuscripts indicate direct recent exposure to Iranian influence. A different situation obtained in Bengal where a *Sharafnāma* (No.44) was illustrated in 1531. It is the sole survivor and end-product of a flourishing independent school, for the style of the manuscript is based ultimately on that of Shiraz a century previously, combined with some 14th-century archaicisms—the Mongol type of rocks for instance. The Golconda manuscripts will be discussed below.

In Iranian painting the lifting of the viewpoint and the adoption of the high horizon occurred as the inevitable concomitant of attempting a fully realized picture on a scale larger than in earlier 14th-century schools. In India of course where the native tradition of painting recognized no necessity to open out in this manner, the adoption of the high viewpoint for paintings in Persian manuscripts can only be seen as an adoption of the latest foreign technique, with no structural necessity behind it forcing the move. Nonetheless, if we are to posit Indian artists as the painters of the Timurid-style group they managed the transition effortlessly. The older technique of the horizontal viewpoint is henceforth seen in Sultanate manuscripts only of marked crudity which have been termed ‘bourgeois’. These form our second group, which is attributable to the period 1450–1500 and is of no immediately obvious ancestry, and certainly not from the Timurid Shirazi manuscripts. Their format of painting across the centre of a page of text is strongly suggestive of the 13th- and 14th-century schools of the Middle East and Iran, as is the viewpoint, from the horizontal plane as opposed to the high viewpoint of Timurid painting.

Although the dispersed Amīr Khusraw manuscript, the Berlin *Hamzanāma* (No.33) the vanished *Sikandarnāma* and now the newly

discovered Berlin *Candāyana* (No.34), are usually regarded as the main manuscripts of this group, there is a marked difference in style between the first and the others. The former is based on some 14th-century style, probably Mamluk, but exhibits little that is specifically Indian in style. An origin in Gujarat seems likely in view of the commercial links of the area. We are prevented from dating it very early in the 15th century, as we would be inclined to do on the evidence of style alone, by the use of a crude *Nasta’līq* hand in the accompanying text that must be assumed to be somewhat later than the reputed inventor of this script Mīr ‘Alī, in the late 14th century. The other three by contrast are hardly removed from the context of Jaina painting.

Any discussion of manuscript illustration in the Sultanate period must involve Jaina and Hindu painting as well as that in Persian manuscripts, as developments in one influenced the others throughout this period. We must return now to discuss the development of paper manuscripts in western India and the developments of illumination made possible by the new material. Palm leaf was speedily abandoned as a writing material in western and northern India during the 13th century, but the format of the new paper manuscripts kept at first to the proportions of the palm leaf, before gradually increasing the height of the folio. No attempt was made however to abandon the *poṭhī* format. Western Indian palm-leaf manuscripts are either in two or three columns of text, depending on the width of the leaf and the number of necessary stringholes. The early paper manuscripts all invariably conform to the one-hole, two-column pattern, with margins ruled in red, and red roundels marking the spot where the hole would have been in the off-centre ‘central’ margin, both on obverse and reverse. The reverse also has an additional red roundel in each of the outer margins; these occur also in palm-leaf manuscripts and are the places where the foliation is marked, the letter system in the left margin, and the numeral one in the right. On paper manuscripts the letter system was abandoned, and the numeral notation usually written in the bottom right-hand corner underneath the red roundel. This basic type of decoration survives in Jaina manuscripts well into the 17th century.

The earliest surviving Jaina paper manuscript with paintings appears to date from the middle of the 14th century, and is the hagiographical work on the founders of Jainism, the *Kalpasūtra*. In fact, the earliest illustrated manuscripts of this work in both palm-leaf and paper formats are contemporary, of the mid-14th century, and argue from their iconography that they represent the beginning of the tradition. A few isolated Jaina illustrated narratives are known from earlier centuries, but it is very probable that the Iranian tradition of narrative illustration was the catalyst which occasioned the very large number of illustrated versions of this text which have survived from the 14th- to 16th-century period. They were generally commissioned by pious laymen to donate to the temple library or *bhaṇḍār* of their spiritual teacher. The quality of the paintings varies tremendously. The earliest illustrated paper manuscripts are of high quality, but from 1400 on there are increasing stylistic exaggerations and rigidity. The human figure is more distorted, with exaggerated sharpness of features and protrusions at chest, bust and hips, and most disturbing of all, the further eye of figures in the invariable three-quarter profile is fully drawn and protrudes into space. This protrusion is already observable in many Jaina paintings in the palm-leaf

period (Nos. 15, 16), and indeed it also occurs in incipient form in much earlier frescoes at Ajantā and Ellora. We are lacking, however, in the crucial documents of the earlier centuries which turn this occasional slight exaggeration into an invariable one fully realized.

Various attempts have been made to explain this phenomenon in religious and metaphysical terms, but it is more satisfactory to regard it as a technical problem that was not solved until the 15th century. What we are witnessing is a stage on the road between the early habit of having all faces in three-quarter profile and the later one of having them all in strict profile. Why Indian artists should have gone along this road is at present an unanswerable question; but what is obvious is that they had technical difficulties in so doing. In the early period, the head is only slightly to one side, and the further eye ends just round the corner, with eyelashes protruding into space. By the 12th century in western India and somewhat later in the east, the head has shifted round somewhat further, the earlier occasional tendency to finish off the corner of the eye in space has gained the mastery and invariably half of it now protrudes (No. 16). In the course of the 15th century, the head has shifted round still further, so that in some manuscripts people are really in profile with practically the entire further eye protruding (Nos. 28–9). By the end of the century it was generally realized that this protruding eye was dispensable and there are several examples of illustrated manuscripts where the eye was first painted in, and then washed over with the background colour (No. 35). From this time on it is only deliberately archaic, conservative Jaina paintings which keep this protruding eye; in progressive Jaina painting and in Hindu painting people are in strict profile. They are not necessarily so of course in Sultanate painting or in the Akbar and early Jahāngīr periods; but by 1610–15 most people in any school are in strict profile and remain so until European influences intruded at the end of the 18th century.

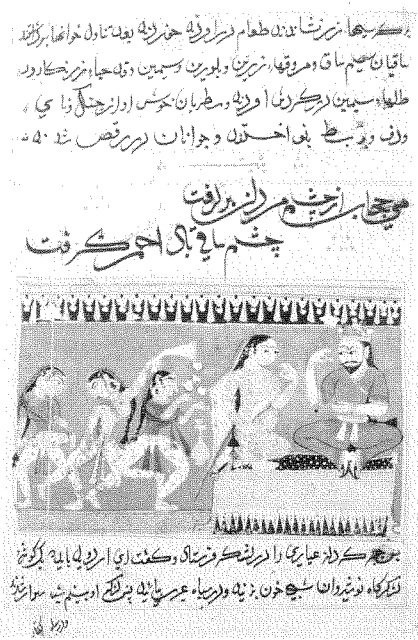
Another distinction between the palm-leaf and paper illustrated Jaina manuscripts is the abandonment in the latter, at least in the mass-produced varieties, of any attempt at modelling with colours—all is now flat planes of colour, contained within a sometimes brilliant but always brittle line. Paper is seen as a surface to be decorated with colours in patterns, yielding in the best examples a brilliant jewel-like surface. The number of pigments used has increased—costly pigments such as ultramarine, crimson, gold and silver are used in increasing quantities. The iconography of the *Kalpasūtra* becomes completely rigid by about 1400, and from this century and the next have survived large numbers of illustrated manuscripts of this text, practically identical in their subject-matter and colouring, based on originals of about 1400 (No. 24). In these, against first a red background and later in the century one of ultramarine, figures are all in gold with details picked out in other colours. The carelessness and roughness of all these stereotyped manuscripts are evidence of flourishing centres for their mass production at the great Jaina centres of Pattan and Ahmadabad, superficially rich in appearance but in reality costing much less than the much rarer and far more beautiful manuscripts individually created by professional artists for discerning patrons. Examples of the latter are found from a much wider area, produced at Mandu (No. 28), Idar, Jaunpur as well as Gujarat (No. 30), but none is later than the very early 16th century, whereas the mass-produced type continues in production until a much later date.



24 f. 16. Harinaigamesin transfers the foetus of the Jina Mahāvīra to Trishalā (No. 24, p. 58).

There are very few Jaina manuscripts which give us much information about their artists. Most colophons in which a scribe is named indicate that the writing was done by a Jaina monk. He may also have been the artist who painted the illustrations—the word *likhitam*, meaning ‘written’, can by extension also mean ‘painted’. However, many of the mass-produced Jaina manuscripts have little notices by the side of the illustrations with the subject of the miniatures. These are notes by the scribe to inform the illustrator of the subject to be painted in the blank space which has been left. Clearly scribe and illustrator must have been distinct in these instances, but almost certainly the illustrator was another monk. Other colophons however can be read to indicate that the scribe and the illustrator are identical, for example in the famous *Kalpasūtra* from Jaunpur dated 1465, which was written and illustrated by a member of the Hindu caste of *kāyasthas* (professional scribes) from Bengal. Such a person was responsible for illustrating the *Mahāpurāṇa* from Palam of 1540. It is remarkable that in the small group of half-a-dozen Jaina manuscripts which mark stylistic advances between 1400 and 1540, the only two which have colophons naming scribes and artists both name Hindu *kāyasthas*. A Buddhist manuscript from Bihar dated 1446 (No. 31) with illustrated covers has a Hindu *kāyastha* as scribe and probably artist. And the most important dated Hindu manuscript in a progressive style in this period, the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of 1516 (No. 38), is likewise painted by a Hindu *kāyastha* from Bengali stock. The conclusion from the limited evidence available would seem to point to Hindu *kāyastha* artists being responsible for many of these stylistic advances. Yet if we look for other Hindu manuscripts of the period, we find only one or two dated or securely datable manuscripts of the 15th century from Gujarat, in style close to the Jaina, and a few documents from eastern India, to indicate the work which they were doing for Hindu patrons. That no high-quality Hindu manuscripts apart from the 1516 manuscript should have survived from this period to parallel the Jaina manuscripts is difficult to believe. Yet there is an abundance of first-rate undated Hindu material. To this problem we shall return.

The gradual change in the human profile throughout the 15th century has already been noted; it is accompanied by other innovations. The style as we find it about 1400 is already hidebound—there exist a number of almost identical manuscripts of good quality from the early 15th century. There have survived a very few manuscripts which show the loosening of these traditional chains—the 1439 *Kalpasūtra* from Mandu (No. 28), and the 1465 one from Jaunpur for example—in which, visibly, first-rank artists apply their own intelligence to solve stylistic and technical problems. The Mandu artist, who is unnamed, had probably never painted a *Kalpasūtra* before, as he makes numerous mistakes in the iconography. He had, however, seen examples of Iranian painting. The movement is towards a style still linear but in which the artist can design his own paintings as he chooses without falling back on time-worn clichés. Significantly both these superb manuscripts come from outside the Jaina stronghold of Gujarat. From there comes another stylistic innovation towards the close of the 15th century, the direct incorporation of motifs from Iranian painting. Its significance will be discussed below. There is an absence of any progressive Jaina manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* after about 1500 which suggests that professional artists went on to other things thereafter. Monkish painters on the other hand were

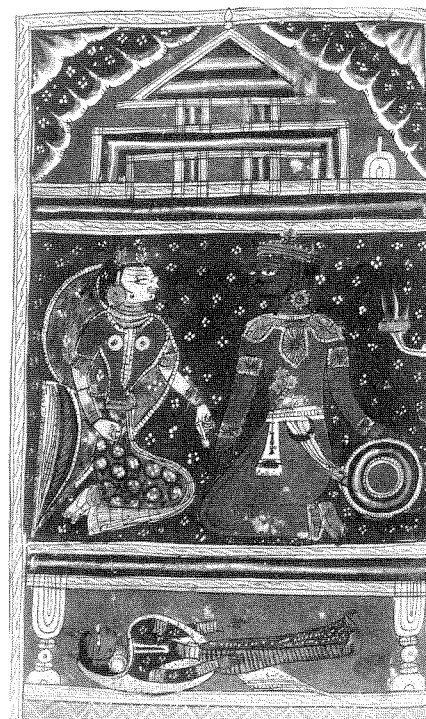


33 f.277b. A celebration at the marriage of Hamza and Mihrafrūz (No.33, p.63).

not concerned about the latest stylistic innovations, but continued right up to the 17th century with the traditional iconic representations.

Up until the 17th century, Jaina manuscripts show little development. They continue the good calligraphic hand found in the palm-leaf manuscripts with little significant variation other than a gradual enlargement and coarsening. In the 16th century there is a tendency for the red roundels to become diamonds, often with blue scroll-work around them. Blue scroll-work is also applied to the margins of the first few folios at this period; the more these extra decorations are in evidence, the later must be the manuscript. There is a surprising absence of binding boards; none has survived from before the 18th century. It is possible, however, that the decorative patterns imitating the medallions of leather bindings, or possibly ex-libris medallions, found on the first and last folios of many manuscripts of this period may indicate that no other covering was thought necessary. This pattern of a large central medallion with four surrounding smaller ones is seen on both Jaina manuscripts (Nos.26, 39) and on the opening folios of some Korans in *Behārī* script (No.20). It was discovered in the 15th century that it was possible to do far more to paper than was possible with palm leaves. Thus paper could be dyed various colours – red and dark blue were the two colours used – and the text could be written in gold or silver ink (Nos.25, 28, 30). This technique may be a reflection of an earlier tradition known in Nepal in the 12th century (No.11). Miniatures could also be included in this sort of manuscript; and all the margins could have their own decorations, either ornamental or figurative (No.30). It was even possible to use an entire page for a single painting on a large scale, which first occurs in a manuscript dated 1423. And in a few gloriously extravagant Gujarati manuscripts towards the end of the 15th century, every square millimetre of every page is covered with pigment (No.30).

Direct Iranian influence on Jaina painting is obvious only in two instances. One of the characters in a popular Jaina story, the *Kālakācāryakathā*, the Sāhi (king) of the Saka tribes who lived originally beyond the Indus and invaded western India about the beginning of the Christian era, was traditionally depicted as a figure derived from Middle Eastern art. The precise source has not yet been pinpointed but is usually ascribed to 13th-century Iranian ceramics. It is noticeable, however, that many of his followers often wear Mongol hats, so that influence from painting in early 14th-century Tabriz may also be possible. The king is depicted in Jaina painting wearing a long *qāba*, with a heavily embroidered collar, and long boots. He and his followers are always in full or three-quarter profile but the further eye never protrudes (Nos.25, 29). Ceramics with this sort of figure must have been imported into Gujarat in considerable quantities for it to be used in painting and to be recognizable as a foreign type. The image remains constant throughout the period of the production of these manuscripts (c.1370–1600), untouched for the most part by later Iranian influence. This latter is most apparent in a small number of richly illuminated manuscripts produced in Gujarat towards the end of the 15th century, in which Persianate figures are included in the marginal decorations. The *Kalpasūtra* now in the Devasenopāda Bhandār (No.30) is the most famous example of this style, in which horsemen apparently derived from Turkman painting in Iran are found in great abundance. These direct influences are of only secondary interest and importance in that they had no visible effect on the



34 f.54. Laurak in Chandā's bedchamber – her maidservant waits outside (No.34, p.63).

basic conceptions of Jaina painting which remained set in its mould until the mid-16th century and only relaxed after coming under the influence of a new Hindu style. They are of significance though in that they demonstrate that in the 15th century, Persian manuscripts were being imported into India, presumably to the courts of the independent Sultans. But that they had a wider influence than simply on court artists is proved by the 1439 *Kalpasūtra* from Mandu (No.28), which already incorporates a high round horizon even though not using it as an Iranian artist would. The flow of Persian manuscripts into Mandu must have been in existence long before the Khaljīs at the end of the 15th century when it first can be proved by documentary evidence.

We have referred above to some of the Sultanate manuscripts of the 'bourgeois' type being scarcely removed from the context of Jaina painting. In the figural type of the *Hamzanāma* (No.33), for example, the male, usually seen in three-quarter profile, without the projecting eye, is based directly on the realization of the Sāhi King seen in Jaina manuscripts, with long oval eyes, pupils to one side, heavy hooked eyebrows, moustache and pointed beard, and dressed in a *jāma* (gown); the main female type, apart from her long tight dress, is the female Jaina type but seen in the same three-quarter profile as the male, and she wears her hair in a long braid down her back, while her *orhnī* (wimple) stands out stiffly in wings. There is no model for this type in Iranian painting, and she must be an individual artist's creation based on the male Sāhi type. The conclusion is obvious that the artist was trained originally in the Jaina tradition, and, given the task of illustrating a Persian text needing Iranian-type figures, he turned for his models to the only source known to him, the Sāhi King in manuscripts of the *Kālaka* story. He can never have seen an illustrated Iranian manuscript. This, of course, is treating this manuscript as the earliest example of its type; the development from the Sāhi figure may have happened earlier, while the *Hamzanāma* is a later manuscript using the same style. In addition to this female type, the *Hamzanāma* has another, usually of dancing girls, always in profile, who have large almond eyes and heavy eyebrows, and huge round earrings; these are the dancing girls of such Jaina manuscripts as the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of 1465 minus the projecting further eye, which in the Jaunpur manuscript is structurally otiose. There is no known Iranian model for these figures. All of them without exception display the characteristic Jaina distortion of the chest underneath one armpit. The *Hamzanāma* probably dates from about 1450. The contemporary *Candāyana* (No.34) is in a primitive style not far removed from a Jaina original. The projecting further eye is still used, the distortion of the chest is still apparent, but, divorced from the familiar iconography of Jaina stories, the artist has been free to experiment in composition. The women are still the Jaina type, apart from the representation of the bosom, and the men with square heads and crowns are based on the Sāhi King in the *Kālaka* illustrations, although less obviously so than in the *Hamzanāma*.

The only parallel Jaina manuscripts in which similar freedom is noticeable are certain Digambara 15th-century manuscripts from Delhi and Gwalior, and it is possible that other developments of this sort were occurring in this area of northern India giving rise to this type of illustration for Persian and Avadhi texts. We are inclined to ascribe the *Hamzanāma* to Delhi and possibly the *Candāyana* also.

We have so far discussed 'Jaina' painting without going into the vexed question of terminology. The style of a typically Jaina manuscript with its projecting eye, bodily distortions, and flat colour planes is also that used for certain Hindu manuscripts of the 15th century, and indeed in two instances for Buddhist ones (No.31), so that this purely sectarian nomenclature is inaccurate. Nor are other proposed solutions to this problem any better. We propose to keep to the quite erroneous sectarian nomenclature, bearing firmly in mind that 'Jaina' painting was quite frequently the work of Hindus.

In turning to the illustrated manuscripts produced by the Hindus in these early centuries of Muslim rule over northern India, we enter into an area of scholarly controversy in which facts are few and opinions multifarious. We have seen that no illustrated Hindu manuscripts on palm leaves survived the fury of the first onslaught of the Muslims, but that the existence of such manuscripts in Nepal argues that they must have been produced in India also. However, there is no sign of any before the middle of the 15th century. We must suppose that just as it was only Buddhist manuscripts which survived the wreck of the Pāla university libraries through being taken to Nepal, so it was only Jaina illustrated manuscripts which were preserved in the temple libraries of Gujarat and Rajasthan. It was after all only Jainas who would present illustrated copies of their sacred texts to the *bhaṇḍār*; the other manuscripts preserved thereby were of the Jaina sacred texts, religion and philosophy. Non-Jaina material seems to have been preserved if accepted as part of a scholar's library. Although some Hindu temples did have libraries, none seems to have survived in the crucial areas of northern India where we would expect illustrated paper manuscripts to have been produced.

The earliest such manuscript to have survived is in fact a Buddhist manuscript (No.31) but written by a Hindu at Arrah in Bihar in 1446, and with wooden painted covers probably by the scribe, in a style which has adapted the Pāla idiom to the angularities and distortions of the medieval school. After this comes a long cotton scroll manuscript of the *Vasantavilāsa*, a Gujarati poem on the amours of Krishna with the *gopīs* which is now in the Freer Gallery of Art. Dated 1451 from Ahmadabad, its style is indistinguishable from contemporary Jaina manuscripts. The next important examples are two pairs of book covers, one from Bihar dated 1491 (No.35) in which the characters are in strict profile and the other from Bengal dated 1499 (No.32), the latter in an angular, eastern idiom which need not concern us here other than to note its difference from the western and northern styles. Then there is a manuscript of the Forest-Book of the *Mahābhārata* dated 1516 (No.38), and an undated copy of Qutban's Avadhi romance *Mṛgavatī* in the Benares Bharat Kala Bhavan, written in the Kaithi character very probably in Jaunpur or Bihar. These are in a style considerably removed from the *Vasantavilāsa*, in which the further projecting eye has disappeared and all the figures are shown in strict profile, while a more naturalistic view is taken of humans, animals, landscapes, etc. without the distortions and exaggerations to which the Jaina style is subject. The 1491 Bihar covers are also showing elements of this style, and lead logically on to the *Mṛgavatī* from the same area, which we would date about 1510. The crucial question about which opinions differ is whether these are forerunners of a much more important group of undated manuscripts (the *Caurapañcāsika* in the

N.C. Mehta Collection in Ahmadabad, the *Candāyana* divided between the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums, the dispersed *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.36), the *Gītagovinda* in the Bombay Museum (No.37), and the *Rāgamālā* now in the J.P. Goenka Collection, Bombay), or whether they are 'bourgeois', cruder, provincial derivatives from a style already in existence by 1500. This *Caurapañcāsika* group of manuscripts can only have developed stylistically after it had been found possible to turn the human head around into strict profile and drop the further projecting eye. It has been assumed that this occurred at the end of the 15th century, for there are two manuscripts, the 1491 Bihar covers (No.35) and the now vanished but fully published undated *Sikandarnāma* of c.1475-1500, in which the projecting eye was first painted in and then covered over with a wash of the background colour. It has been argued that the progression then leads logically to the 1516 *Mahābhārata* (No.38) and the 1540 *Mahāpurāṇa* and, if one believes this last to be the forerunner of the true *Caurapañcāsika* group, on to this important group last of all, to be dated 1525-75, which dating is reinforced by the presence of a crucial garment, the four-pointed *jāma*, in Mughal manuscripts as well as in the major ones of the *Caurapañcāsika* group.

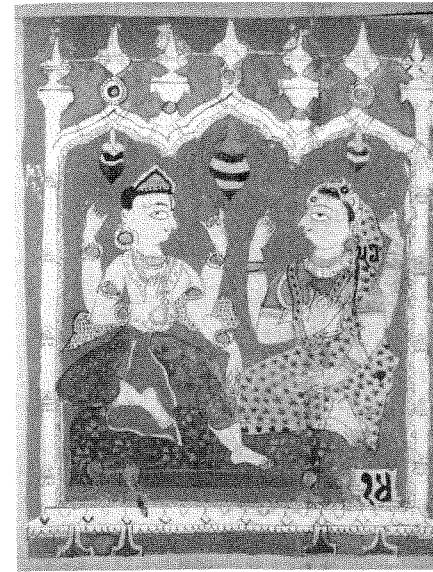
There are however several important problems and pieces of evidence of which this argument takes no note. In an Indian context it is rarely the case that comparatively crude manuscripts, like the 1516 *Mahābhārata* which is dated from a village near Agra in the dominions of Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517), and its successor Jaina manuscript, the *Mahāpurāṇa* dated 1540 from Palam (probably a village near Delhi), are the forerunners of an advanced courtly style, rather than provincial derivatives from it. By assuming a non-royal provenance for the masterpieces of the *Caurapañcāsika* group, a precise location can be avoided other than the vaguest reference to a Delhi-Jaunpur belt, the latter city argued for on the basis that since one of the manuscripts in the group, the *Candāyana*, is in Avadhi Hindi, it can only have been copied in an area where this language is spoken. There are, moreover, elements of the *Caurapañcāsika* style apparent in the c.1450 Berlin *Hamzanāma*, the 1491 Bihar covers and the c.1500 *Nīmatnāma*, while the Mandu and Jaunpur Jaina manuscripts between 1439 and 1465 are on the point of giving birth to major stylistic developments. The Hindu artist of the Jaunpur manuscript has indeed modified his own style to accommodate Jaina traditions like the projecting eye. And the argument for as late a date as the early Akbar period for the major examples of the style, on the grounds that both the latter and the earliest examples of Mughal painting show the four-pointed gown, which is to be seen in no earlier dated manuscripts, ignores all the references to this particular costume in Mughal sources as a garment peculiar to the Hindus.

Now it seems to us that starting from a viewpoint without preconceived ideas on the dating of the group it is perfectly possible to arrive at very different conclusions. Starting from the major manuscripts themselves, they are of such superb quality that it is difficult to conceive of their being other than of royal provenance. We know from the *Āraṇyakaparvan* the taste of a wealthy Hindu patron and the result—an excellent manuscript, but as a work of art in a totally different class, with indifferent composition and a weak line. One is impressed with the major manuscripts on the other hand by their absolute sureness and confidence of line and colour, and by their ability to convey not merely the story they

are illustrating, but the mood as well. First-class work of this sort in an Indian context can only be of royal provenance. Looked at from the point of view of content, there is a demonstrable intimate connection between these manuscripts, particularly the *Gītagovinda* (No.37), and the *Rāgamālā* from Chawand in Mewar dated 1605, in compositional techniques, landscape and particularly the method of dividing the sky into light and dark halves that is unique to Mewar. But on the other hand the Chawand *Rāgamālā* is so much less sure in technique that this argues for a considerable distance between the two. Goetz has rightly pointed out how all Mewar art and architecture from the first half of the 17th century is decidedly old-fashioned, being about 50 years out of date, and often harkening back to the days of her greatness under Rānās Kumbha (1433–68) and Sanga (1509–28). It is not surprising then to find this close resemblance and to see in the Chawand *Rāgamālā* an archaistic revival of a much earlier style.

Looking at the *Caurapañcāsika* group from another angle, we find that its simple compositional structures of a group of figures beside or in a pavilion at one side of the painting, with plain ground and a dark/light sky above, finds earliest expression in the two much-mentioned *Kalpasūtras* of 1439 and 1465. Moreover, the profile of the women in the latter manuscript, as has often been pointed out, is, with the removal of the further eye, precisely the profile of Champāvati in the *Caurapañcāsika* – a square face, a huge, backward sweeping eye, a large triangular nose, with nostrils carefully delineated, and a sharp protruding chin which curves softly down into the neck. Some of the ladies in this 1465 manuscript, moreover, wear the *paṭkā* hanging in front of their skirt with a projecting point, and the *oṣhṇī* or wimple standing stiffly out in a wing, the garment of the ladies in the *Caurapañcāsika* group. Now we know that the illustrator of the 1465 manuscript was a Hindu *kāyastha* named Venīdāsa, who presumably earned his living illustrating Hindu as well as Jaina manuscripts. We also know from two other manuscripts from eastern India, the *Kālacakratantra* from Arrah of 1446 (No.31) and a crude *Kāraṇḍavyūha* from Hoūndi of 1455, that the projecting further eye was still usually there in the mid-15th century, but we learn from the *Piṅgalatattva* covers of 1491 (No.35) and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* covers of 1499 (No.32) that it had disappeared by the end of the century. The whole of this area was under the control of the Sultans of Jaunpur and Bengal, with the exception of Mithila, so that we would not expect the latest developments in Hindu painting to originate there. But the artists were obviously aware of the latest artistic developments from elsewhere and introduced them where they could – into the traditionally conservative format of a *Kalpasūtra* in 1465 for example – and abandoned the further projecting eye some time in the 1470s and 1480s. And it is precisely in the area of eastern India least under Muslim control, Mithila (Bihar north of the Ganges), that the artist comes nearest to the *Caurapañcāsika* style proper in 1491 (No.35). If these developments in Hindu and Jaina painting occur in Muslim-ruled areas of eastern India by the 1460s–80s, we are surely justified in assuming that they had occurred in Hindu-ruled areas sometime before this. And for northern India, the only major Hindu kingdoms at this time were Mewar and Orissa, while numerous other smaller states maintained a precarious independence in other parts of Rajasthan, in Bundelkhand and Gujarat, and in the Panjab Hills.

It is for all these reasons that we accept the very early dating of a

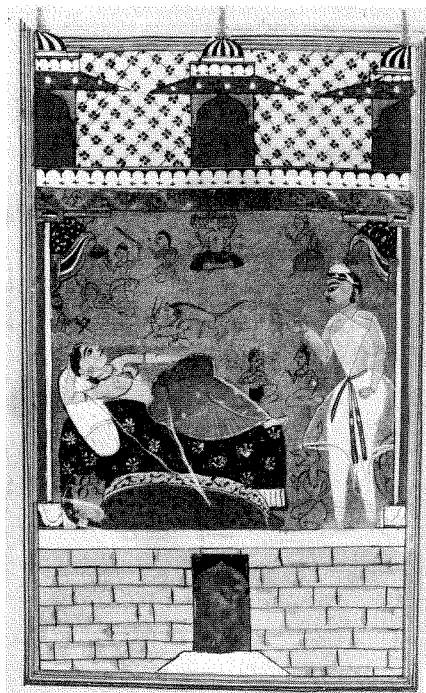


39 f.14b (detail). One of the different kinds of *vimānas* (chariots) used by the gods (No.39, p.66).

controversial manuscript in the Simla Museum, a manuscript of the *Devīmāhātmya* dated in a chronogram *Śāka Tvaṣṭagaṇarasendu*, i.e. in the *Śāka* year 1361/1439–40, which was produced in Jaisinghnagar, probably in the Panjab Hills. The paintings are in the margins around a central text panel, and in a style which is a somewhat more desiccated version of the main *Caurapañcāsika* style, in which the females, although in the latter style's costume, have obvious affinities with the females of Jaina manuscripts, particularly in posture, with one leg extended and the other bent, for example, and is arguably a stage in the development of the style between its 'Jaina' origins and its climax.

It need hardly be said at this stage that we are lacking the crucial documents which would fix the development of the *Caurapañcāsika* style to a time and place. But indeed it is doubtful if such was the way it developed. Far more likely is that it developed out of earlier styles in different parts of northern India in the early decades of the 15th century, and that it reached its peak of expressiveness shortly afterwards with the *Caurapañcāsika* and Lahore–Chandigarh *Candāyana* manuscripts, both of which come from the same studio and at the same time, which we would judge to be 1450–75. Both these manuscripts maintain in their facial profiles precisely the same elements as occur in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra*, and have a wiry strength in their line that suggests rather than actually contains the distortions to the human figure found in earlier manuscripts. The line has been smoothed out in the dispersed *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (No.36), which we would date about 1500, while in the *Gītagovinda* (No.37) there are significant new developments in the facial characteristics that would make a date nearer 1525 seem probable. In the minor manuscripts of the group, the Vijayendra Sūri *Rāgamālā*, the 1516 *Mahābhārata* (No.38) and the 1540 *Mahāpurāṇa*, the line is less angular, but weaker and rather nervous. Dated Gujarati Jaina manuscripts (No.39) of the later 16th century continue the latter tradition. As to the provenance of the major manuscripts of the group, although it seems likely that the *Gītagovinda* was done in Mewar, it is not inevitable that all were done there. Gwalior under Man Singh Tomar has long been considered a probable provenance by Skelton, while the Panjab Hills, other areas of Rajasthan and Bundelkhand, even Orissa, are all possibilities.

It is undeniable that Iranian painting introduced some new compositional structures to Hindu artists, yet what they took from it was solely what could be adapted to suit their purpose. Faced with a high horizon, the Indian artist rejected it out of hand as a means of expanding the compositional depth of his paintings, preferring to keep firmly to his traditional horizontal viewpoint with a monochrome ground, on to which he grafted a horizon and a sky. Where it was necessary to show foreground and middleground action, he preferred to divide up his composition into separate registers. Nor did he greatly care for the careful balance in a Persian manuscript between text and painting. In the palm-leaf period he was forced to use only a small area for his paintings with text beside it, and this remained so in the earlier Jaina paper manuscripts. Hindu artists and patrons grasped the possibilities a larger surface gave rise to, and quickly established a tradition of illustrated manuscripts, foreign to the Iranian bibliographic tradition, which are more picture-books with accompanying text than true illustrated manuscripts. This is true whether the manuscripts are Hindu, for which the



46 f.160. Laurak gains access to Chandā's bedchamber, on the walls of which are painted scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (No.46, p.69).

poṭhī format was retained, or Muslim, such as the Avadhi Hindi *Candāyana* (Nos.34, 45–6) for which an upright vertical format was preferred, as more in keeping with Muslim bibliographic traditions. For all five surviving Sultanate-period manuscripts of this text are composed mostly of vertical full-page paintings with the text in the Arabic script written on the reverse, and this is true also for the Lahore–Chandigarh pages obviously done for a Hindu patron. For the *Caurapañcāśika* and *Gītāgovinda*, a single verse is inscribed at the top, and the intention was to illustrate each verse of the text in this way. The *Bhāgavatā Purāṇa* has only a label for the painting at the top, and the main text on the verso. We do not know for certain why this type of manuscript was produced, and it is difficult to think of possible antecedents for it; but in view of three of these manuscripts being in Sanskrit, with which by the 15th and 16th centuries patrons might not necessarily be too familiar, it could be argued that linguistic incomprehension might be a contributing factor. Avadhi Hindi might also not be readily familiar elsewhere in northern India, especially in the Arabic script. Since the *Candāyana* was dedicated to the Vizier of Firoz Shāh Tughluq in Delhi, it is probable that the original presentation manuscript of 1389 was also in this format. No doubt they were meant to be looked at in private with wives in a harem, who might not be able to read. We know from Abu'l Fazl's account of the Mughal library that the finest illustrated books were kept within the zenana. However, the existence of such a format in the second half of the 15th century for at least two of the surviving early *Candāyana* manuscripts (the Berlin manuscript, No.34, and the fragments in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares) argues that it was not an isolated phenomenon, and that other manuscripts might also be in this format; this indirectly provides evidence of at least the potential existence of manuscripts of the *Caurapañcāśika* group in the 15th century.

We are now at last in a position to examine our third group of Sultanate manuscripts, a pair of manuscripts of the *Candāyana* (Nos.45, 46). They are the most beautiful surviving Sultanate manuscripts, and are the products of a sophisticated Muslim court, in which earlier influences from Iranian, Sultanate, Hindu and Jaina painting have all been assimilated, elements from each having been taken and used as required. The high round horizon is present in both but the viewpoint remains the horizontal, and middleground elements are usually placed on a different register. So the horizon and the ground and the sky above are sometimes realistically depicted, but more often used as elements in decoration, being coloured and decorated with gorgeous arabesques. Of the two, the Bombay manuscript (No.45) is the more beautiful and decorative, while the Manchester manuscript (No.46) more successfully integrates its various elements. Both, however, are sufficiently related to come from the same school with perhaps a quarter-century interval between them. It is clear that the wide variety of styles in which this text is illustrated, ranging from primitive, almost Jaina, paintings (No.34) to products of sophisticated Muslim courts (the Rylands and Bombay manuscripts Nos.45–6), and of a Hindu court (the Lahore/Chandigarh pages), renders untenable the argument that because the story of Laurak and Chandā is an eastern story and in an eastern Hindi dialect (Avadhi), all the manuscripts of the text must come from the eastern region where Avadhi was spoken. The only court in the region was at Jaunpur, and it is not possible that so many artistic styles could have been practised at the



51 f.174b. *Hastābhinaya* (hand-gestures) (No.51, p.72).

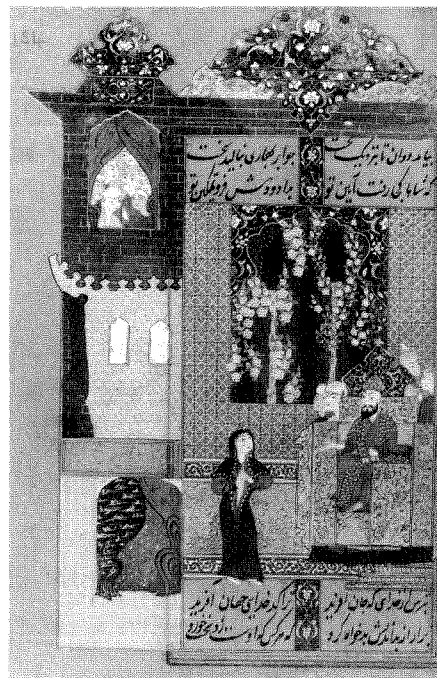
court, or in the city around it. The original text as we have seen was dedicated to the Vizier of the Sultan of Delhi, and we have argued that the format for illustrating this particular text was devised specifically to overcome the problem of linguistic incomprehensibility.

The Bombay *Candāyana* is linked closely to the *Nīmatnāma* from Mandu in colouring, certain human types, details of landscape, etc., and it is not difficult to think of the *Candāyana* as from Mandu, c.1520–30. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the presence of so many characteristics of this style in the *Tūtīnāma* manuscript produced in Akbar's studio c.1560. The Manchester *Candāyana* has moved on another quarter-century from the Bombay manuscript, and is possibly from Mandu closer to its final fall before the Mughals in 1562. We have in Mandu at this time precisely the right type of sophisticated court milieu under Bāz Bahādur (1555–61) and his mistress Rūpmatī, a final brief flowering of an independent Mandu culture before its extinction by the armies of Akbar in 1561–2. The Bombay *Candāyana* style had time to spread from Mandu, and hence is widely represented in the *Tūtīnāma*. Not so the Manchester manuscript, which is the last effort of a Sultanate court before being overwhelmed by the Mughal armies and by Mughal culture.

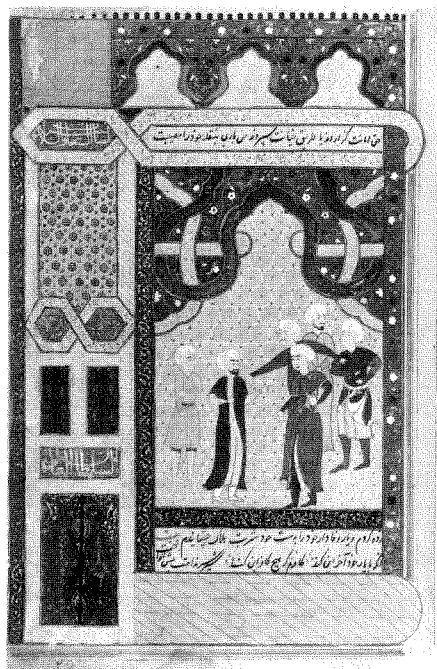
The three kingdoms of the Deccan remained independent of Mughal rule, in the case of Ahmadnagar until 1600 and of Bijapur and Golconda until 1686–7. No independent Sultanate school has yet been proved to have existed for any of these or the first independent sultanates in the south after 1400, although it is inconceivable that such rich and flamboyant realms did not support studios; it is possible that some of the at present unattributable Sultanate manuscripts may yet turn out to be from the Deccan, while we have noted above the possible influence from Mandu on later Deccani painting. However the earliest documented manuscripts from the Deccani kingdoms are the *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* from Ahmadnagar of 1565–7 and the *Nujūm al-'Ulūm* of 1570 from Bijapur (No.50). Both display many of the characteristics of mature Deccani painting in their love of daring colour clashes—purples and yellows, pinks and greens, browns and blues—their rich and sumptuous character, the traditional Deccani costume, all of which argue by themselves a pre-existence for the style.

It has been proposed that certain of these elements may come from the art of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, the Hindu rival of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, where wall-paintings at least flourished, and whose final destruction by the combined forces of the three was encompassed in 1565. Part of the loot from the destruction of the city may have been the painters carried off to new cities. However, no evidence has yet appeared in support of this theory in the form of manuscripts or paintings from Vijayanagar, and a more realistic solution is to postulate an earlier Sultanate school whose work has not yet been discovered. The *Nīmatnāma* from Mandu does in fact display already in 1500–10 many of the Deccan's favourite colours.

The *Tarikh-i Husayn Shāhī* also shows in the occasional detail, such as the faces of one or two of its women, a resemblance to the typical female profile of the *Caurapañcāśika* group, while its total misunderstanding of various motifs of Iranian painting, such as the invariable use of canopies emanating from windows to cover the royal hero and his womenfolk argues an original Iranian model for the style considerably earlier than 1565. It is not without significance in this respect that the earlier work



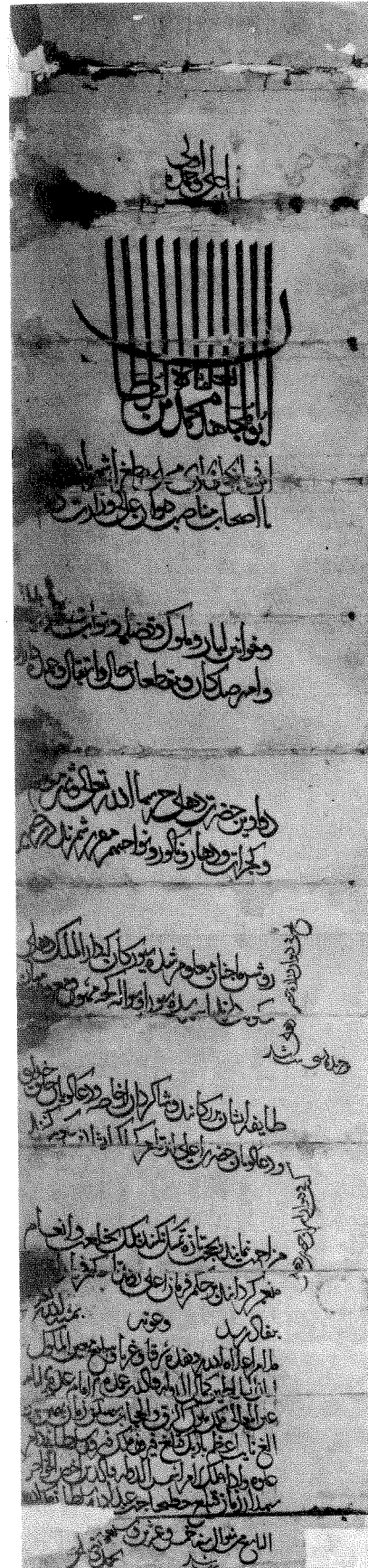
48 f.154. The unmasking of the deceitful damsel who tried to ruin the king's son. The domes are treated as if they were *ansas* (No.48, p.70).



49 f.116. The merchant of small means returns to his untrustworthy friend the son whom he had taken away to teach his friend a lesson. Note the fantastic architectural designs (No.49, p.71).

from the third kingdom, Golconda, which took part no less eagerly in the destruction of Vijayanagar, is under purest Iranian influence and shows no trace of the characteristic Deccani traits until much later. These earliest Golconda manuscripts display influence from Bokhara (Hatīfī's *Khusraw va Shīrīn* of 1569, in Bankipore), Herat (the frontispiece to the medical encyclopaedia of 1572, No.47) and Shiraz (the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* of 1582, No.49, and *Sindbadnāma*, No.48). Direct Iranian influence continues at Golconda in the *Kulliyāt* of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580–1611), this time from the Safavid style, but it is difficult to believe that the Safavid baton turban, which died out in Iranian painting about 1560, could still be in use in Golconda painting as late as 1600, the date suggested for the manuscript in its single published appearance. Within its highly Persianized style, but with some original Deccani characteristics now at last appearing in Golconda painting, we would like to assign it as early a date as is consistent with the admittedly confused chronology of the royal author's poems, *i.e.* c.1590. To this same period, following Douglas Barrett, we would assign the five Golconda paintings now in the British Museum showing Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh in his court, which display the developed early Golconda style fully for the first time, with its density of composition, built up often in layers, and lovely collisions of pinks and greens.

Little is known of the school of Ahmadnagar from the later 16th century apart from a few portraits, although it may have contributed artists to the Mughal studio (No.59). From the school of Bijapur has survived one magnificent manuscript (No.52) the *Pennem* of the Bijapuri poet Hams, which at once contains three separate strands of Bijapuri painting c.1591. It is noteworthy that increased Mughal penetration of the Deccan from the late Akbar period onwards, together with possible sojourns of Mughal artists at the Deccani courts to which Skelton has drawn attention, resulted in a much denser Deccani style in the early 17th century in which landscape elements are much more important and are treated in much greater depth in the Mughal manner. However, there are no surviving manuscripts illustrating the superbly sumptuous quality of Deccani painting at this period, as the best artists poured their finest work into individual paintings. These must also have been done for the monarchs, who were by and large an immensely cultivated and civilized group; unlike most of their northern equivalents, they were conversant, and indeed favoured and wrote, in the languages of their people, Dakhni and Telugu – Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's poems in his *Kulliyāt* are in Dakhni, not Persian, as is the *Pennem* of Hams, the Bijapuri manuscript of 1591 (No.52). Hams' putative patron, Ibrāhīm II 'Ādil Shāh (1580–1627), was the author, again in Dakhni, of a work on Indian music, and may possibly have commissioned the various sets of *Rāgamālā* paintings known from this period. They collected books and patronized poets and scholars – one of the great histories of Muslim India, Ferishta's *Gulshān-i Ibrāhīm* was written under court patronage in Bijapur, while innumerable poets and scholars in Arabic and Persian from many parts of the Muslim world flocked to their courts.



17 *Firmān* of Muhammad ibn Tughluq, Delhi, 1325.

17 'Firmān' of Muhammad ibn Tughluq

A proclamation issued on the orders of Muhammad ibn Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi (1325–57) dated Delhi 725/1325, to ensure good treatment by officials of loyal non-Muslims. It is in the form of a long scroll, with the Sultan's name and titles in *tughra* form at the top. It is the only unquestionable surviving document from the period of the undivided Delhi Sultanate.

The Keir Collection, Pontresina, Switzerland.

One scroll; 116 × 27.5cm; paper backed with cotton; 20 lines of *Naskhī-divānī* (chancellery) script, with heading in *tughra* form.

Bibliography: Keir 1976, pp.283–4.

18 'Qur'ān'

COLOUR PLATE VIII

The Holy Koran, copied by Mahmūd Sha'bān, in the fort of Gwalior, in 801/1399.

This manuscript marks the end of the Tughluq period of domination of India, as it was written just after Tīmūr destroyed Delhi. It is also, despite its damaged and much restored condition, one of the most beautiful of the material remains of this period of Indian culture, but presents considerable difficulty in the interpretation of its evidence. The colophon on f.550b seems unimpeachable as to date, being obviously in the same hand as the text, while Gwalior is the obvious interpretation of Gālyūr or Kalyūr. It is in the *Khaṭṭ-i Behār*, or *Behārī* script, in gold, red and blue, the former for the first, middle and last line and the other two alternating in between these two. Scribes hesitated over *Behārī* at the best of times, and it is difficult to think of this scribe, with his irregular strokes and variegated rhythms as being anything other than an inexperienced calligrapher and possibly a new user of this script.¹ He also included an interlinear translation in Persian in small *Naskhī* underneath the Arabic words.

There are 34 illuminated double-pages, marking the passage of the 30 *jūz* into which the *Qur'ān* is divided, plus four other double-pages, three at the beginning. The basic pattern of the illuminated pages is of text panels of five lines in gold, red and blue in white clouds over a ground of pink or brown cross-hatching, over which are drawn either lively floriated tendrils or simpler crown motifs or dots and crosses in red and blue. There may or may not be side panels of illumination, but always an upper and a lower panel with an inscription, the majority in a large and elegant *Thuluth*, of considerable sophistication, in marked contrast to the prov-

incial character of the main text. Sometimes the side-panels also contain *Thuluth* inscriptions, at right angles to the body of the text. Usually an outer border of arabesques surrounds the whole, with its own border of lotus petals. There are always marginal medallions, either a central one or two nearer the inscriptional panels, and in this latter case usually an *ansa*, triangular, semi-circular, or half an octagon with points, protruding into the margin, with half versions of itself at top and bottom along the extension of the upper and lower edges of the panel of illumination. The pattern of this illumination is based on that of 14th-century Persian and Mamluk Koran manuscripts,² and is also known from later Indian Korans in *Behārī* script, which retained this pattern in a frozen state.³ In Iran of course it went on developing with a multiplicity of palm-ettes and their incorporation into the marginal arabesques in the Safavid period (No.53).

As for the content of the illumination, there are the usual motifs of the arabesque (spirals and chains with leaves and tendrils in gold and colours) and leaf sprays, but with more varied colours and in different shapes from Iranian or Arab illumination. But more exotic, and hence presumably Indian, are the sprays of flowers found in many of the panels, as well as the elegant patterns of leaves and flowers forming the ground in the text panels. The basic motif in the latter is a five-petalled flower seen from the side, rather like a hand, which is seen again and again throughout the illumination. This is met with also in a much damaged, earlier Indian Ms.⁴ Considerable use is made of the spray of unoutlined leaves seen in Shirazi illumination from about 1370, but here in various colours, quite often a lighter on a dark shade of the same colour, or vice-versa, which is seen in other Sultanate illumination (Nos.19, 20). The colourist has, in comparison with the Middle Eastern Korans' normal range of golds and blues, heavily emphasized the subsidiary colours – red and green and especially black.

The manuscript with a double-page geometric frontispiece in the Īl-Khānīd and Mamluk manner of the 14th century, formed by lines radiating from a central star, with Kufic inscriptions in the panels above and below. No other such illumination is known from any other Indian manuscript, not even in the 15th-century manuscripts in *Behārī* based on this model. It is the dying gasp of an earlier, now vanished, Īl-Khānīd style of the Tughluqs. This pair of illuminated pages, and the next two likewise, use an extremely clumsy and ill-articulated Kufic for the inscriptional panels, over illumination that, despite much damage and repair, seems in consonance with the rest

of the manuscript. Suddenly, in the next two double-pages of illumination, the fumbling amateur becomes the master of a bold and vigorous style of Kufic, which is repeated on the penultimate illuminated double-pages. All other inscriptional headings are in *Thuluth*, in a hand much finer than that of Mahmūd Sha'bān.

Detailed comparative work within the manuscript itself reveals that some time between its writing in 1399 and the large-scale and clumsy restoration in the 19th century, it underwent another large-scale process of overpainting. Many of the colours used and colour combinations essayed are, simply, unbelievable for 1399, whether in India or anywhere else in the Islamic world. They make no sense whatever in terms of what is known of Indian painting around 1400—the flaming reds, yellows and oranges in which this Koran abounds are never seen in western Indian painting for example, of which we have continuous examples from 1060 through to 1600. We must of course make allowances for provincialisms—not only was India provincial in terms of the totality of Muslim culture, Gwalior was itself provincial within Indian Muslim culture. Thus we may readily accept the strange outline of the content of the illumination—the odd flower shapes and tendrils, and arabesques.⁵ Nonetheless, in medieval societies, artists do not suddenly create works out of their imaginations without reference to their artistic and cultural milieu, so evidence which contradicts these principles of comparison may be assigned to the repainting.

Space does not permit here a detailed account of this process of repainting. Suffice it to say that comparison between the two pages of a double-page composition frequently reveals a feature that has been overpainted on one side and not the other, and that for virtually every feature that shocks by its virulent and unharmonious colouring, there may be found elsewhere in the Ms. the same composition but painted in colours which are perfectly consonant with what may be expected from northern India about 1400. When and where the overpainting was done is not clear. It happened some time before the large-scale clumsy restoration, as it, like the original illumination, has been subjected to the same process. There must have been a fairly rapid deterioration of the condition of the Ms. between the two events, the former of which may be placed in the 18th century and the latter in the 19th. There is no especial reason to suppose that the first overpainting was done in India—indeed it seems more consonant with Middle Eastern work of the period.

Collection of H.H. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva, Ms.32.

ff.550; 29×22cm; good polished paper; 13 lines *Behārī* script in gold, blue and red in panels 22.5×16cm with margins ruled in gold, red and blue; 34 double-page illuminations; *sūrah* headings in gold *Thuluth* or *Behārī*; all marginal ornaments later repaintings; much damaged, and repaired; modern binding.

Bibliography: AI, p.370. Welch 1979, No.75 (f.40b in black and white, f.41a in colour).

¹Scribes in the 15th and 16th centuries became much more purposeful when using *Behārī* script, and extended the horizontal sweeps in a much more pleasing curve. See Safadi 1978, p.29. A page from what appears to be a Tughluq Koran is published in Spink 1980, No.59 (see p.38 above).

²See BL 1976 Nos.73, 112 etc.

³As the damaged Koran in the India Office Library (Storey 1051) dated 1453.

⁴British Library Add.26189 (BM 1879 pp.71–3) has a badly damaged frontispiece with this kind of illumination.

⁵The openhanded floral motif referred to above is found in the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* of 1465, while there is a close similarity between some of the strangest flower shapes in arabesques in this Ms. and in the Devaseno Pādo Bhandār *Kalpasūtra* (No.30).

19 Anthology

Illustrated on p.40.

An anthology of Persian verses, without title or author's name, compiled in the reign of Sultan ash-Shārq Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpur (1400–1).

The anthology, known only from this Ms., is incomplete and has many lacunae, the poets quoted ranging in date from Firdausi to Hāfiz, and include some Indian poets unknown to Persia. The author of the anthology speaks of Mubārak Shāh as still living, in the heading he uses to introduce a poem addressed to that sovereign by Malik 'Azīzallāh. It is possible therefore that this Ms. is the autograph of the work and in fact dates from 1400–1. The hand is a 15th-century Indian *Naskhī*; the illuminated headings, in which the title is written in white on gold in a cartouche or medallion, with blue borders surrounded by an orange ground with flower and leaf designs in a darker shade of orange, are typical of the period. A *terminus ante quem* is in any case provided by a note in a later hand dated Delhi 935/1529.

The illuminations are rather crude, but shed light on this obscure period in the history of book production in India. The most interesting passages from this point of view occur in folios 152b–156a, eight pages of illuminated verses written in fanciful shapes, including circles, the spokes of a wheel, branches of a tree and so on. In these pages are seen further examples of the sprays of leaves in two tones of orange, white sprays on blue, lotus petals around medallions, cross-hatching and basket patterns in red, and the five-petalled flower viewed from the

side, all of which occur in the Gwalior Koran of 1399 (No.18).

British Library, London, Or.4110.

ff.445; 25×15.5cm; creamy, slightly bur-nished paper; 25 lines of black *Naskhī* with headings in red, in various arrangements in panels 17.5×10cm, with margins, columns, headpieces etc. ruled in red in two thin lines; numerous headpieces, white script on gold, with blue and orange surrounds; eight pages of more elaborate illumination; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1895, pp.232–3.

20 'Qur'ān'

Illustrated on p.39.

The Holy Koran.

This manuscript is a good example of the type of Koran illumination which we associate with Jaunpur. It is undated, but assignable to about 1500, and is copied in a comparatively good *Behārī* script, which has now fully developed the horizontal curving sweep that particularly marks this script, and which in the 1399 Koran (No.18) is only just developing. The Koran begins with a now covered-over diamond medallion with four surrounding roundels, a pattern we find repeated on the first and last folios of some Jaina manuscripts.

There are four double-pages of illumination consisting of frames of blue, crimson and gold around eight or nine lines of text on a pink cross-hatching. The frames are either plain crimson or blue, with a slight pattern of dots, or a combination of these two colours divided by a wavy line down the centre of the frame; or blue with gold arabesques and circular medallions. The pink ground is dotted with crown motifs. There are panels at top and bottom, usually with blue cartouches with a gold heading in *Thuluth* with orange end-pieces. The chapter-headings are disposed like these panels, but sometimes do not actually have the titles inscribed on the central cartouches. Verse markers in the margins consist of roundels in orange with gold borders (for ten verses), more elaborate roundels with an outer ring of alternate segments of blue and black (for 50 verses) and a pear-shaped medallion in blue and gold round a roundel with prolonged finials for 100 verses. The most used decorative element in all this illumination is of an orange ground with a darker orange or blue spray of leaves on it. The pear-shaped medallions contain the same motif of a gold arabesque with medallions as in some of the frames of the double-pages. The Koran seems transitional between the Jaunpur Ms. of 1400 (No.19) and larger, early 16th-century Korans such as those in the Salar Jung Museum which are much expanded ver-

sions of this one. At some stage the Ms. was split up and bound in four separate volumes, without regard to correct division.

British Library, London, Add.5548–51.

Provenance, purchased in 1794 from the collection of Capt. Charles Hamilton of Calcutta (d.1792).

ff.192, 187, 192, 190; 28×20cm; paper, creamy-brown; 11 lines of *Behārī* script, with margins ruled in red and black in panels 20×13cm, with similar outer margins; interlinear Persian translation in red *Naskhī*; rebound in 4 vols. in red with stamped medallions and corner-pieces, with painted black frame, 17–18th century; late 18th-century spines.

Bibliography: BM 1846, p.57.

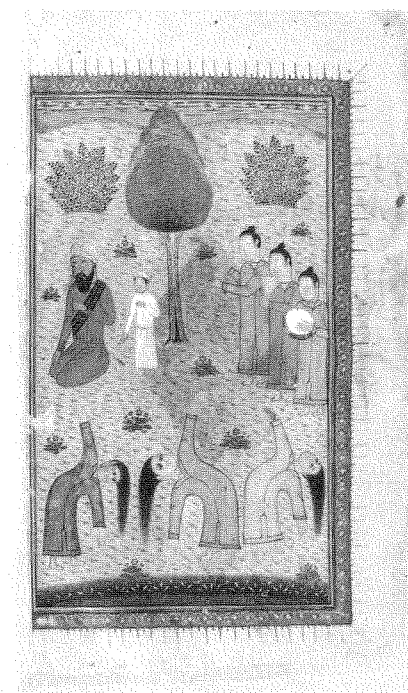
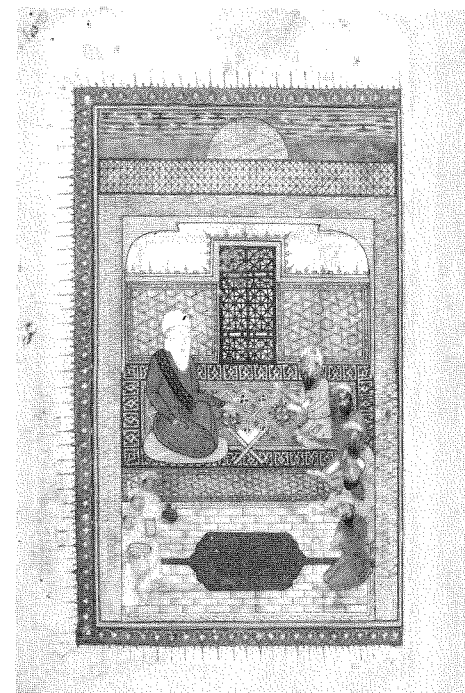
21 'Qur'ān'

Illustrated on p.38.

The Holy Koran, unascribed, but before 893/1488.

This much damaged volume is datable to the middle of the 15th century, prior to the date of the seal (893/1488) impressed on f.338a, an 'ex-libris' from the library of Mahmūd Shāh 'Bigarha', Sultan of Gujarat, 1459–1511. This however applies only to part of the work, ff.123–637; folios 1–122 and 638–752 are 19th-century replacements.

The original part of the Ms. is copied in a superbly vigorous hand, in Indian *Thuluth*. The illumination of this Ms. was never completed, the illuminated folios extending now only from ff.394–490; it was originally intended to include panels for the *sūrah* headings with marginal palmettes, as well as verse markers of both circular and pear-shaped form. There have survived only one *sūrah* heading and 33 marginal ornaments, of which 15 have been removed from the discarded original pages at the time of refurbishment and stuck on to the new folios, as well as traces of a few other headings, and outline drawings for some more headings and marginal ornaments. The content of the illumination affords a further demonstration of the originality of early Muslim art in India. Doubt has been cast¹ on its 15th-century origin, because of its unusualness for this date, when compared with contemporary Timurid illumination in Iran, but everything we know now about Koranic illumination in India demonstrates the remoteness of the illuminators from Middle Eastern models and their ability to utilize new motifs, derived from the basic repertoire of Indian designs. They already favoured the use of more than blue and gold, and considerable areas were coloured in black, red and green. The motifs of the illumination in this Ms. are of two basic kinds: one is a chain of



22 ff.9b, 10. Dervishes dancing before a *shaykh* (right); and a holy man apparently taking a class (left).

arabesques around a central circle of green and gold diamonds of different colours against a background usually blue, but sometimes divided between blue and black; the other is derived from the Iranian motif of a spray of gold leaves against blue, popular in Shirazi illumination of the 14th and 15th centuries.² Here the illuminator has again added red and green to this basic colour scheme, centring it round a central medallion of green and gold. The solitary surviving *sūrah* heading of f.457b consists of a simple arabesque of gold picked out in red against which the heading is set, also in gold, surrounded by margins of green, gold and blue, with a palmette. The verse dividers are gold rosettes picked out in red and blue. An elegant *tughra* in the margin makes the beginning of many of the chapters.

At some stage the manuscript was given as a *waqf* (religious endowment), as this is written every ten folios across the top of the page from f.139b to f.310, and intermittently thereafter, presumably after it left the library of Mahmūd 'Bigarha'. All the *waqf* marks have been defaced. The 19th-century refurbisher has attempted to imitate the original hand, unsuccessfully, and provided a double-page frontispiece of stunning vulgarity.

The obvious place of origin for the Ms. is Gujarat itself, which the powerful Sultan Mahmūd 'Bigarha' made one of the most important powers in the Indian system. The colours used in the illuminations are the same as those used in contemporary Jaina painting and are in

fact the same pigments,³ while there is a basic similarity of illuminative motifs.⁴

British Library, London, Add.18163.

ff.752; 37×26cm; thin paper, original, ff.123–637; ff.1–122 and 638–752 creamier paper, 19th century; seven lines in Indian *Thuluth* in panels 26×18cm ruled in blue and gold; 19th century '*unwān*'; red morocco binding with gilt margins, with flap, 19th century.

Bibliography: BM 1871, No.807. BL 1976, p.82 [reproduction of f.457b, the illuminated *sūrah* heading].

¹*ibid.*, p.76.

²*ibid.*, pl.xx. This motif remained popular in India up to the 16th century—the illumination of Nusrat Shāh's *Sharafnāma* from Bengal, 1531 (No.44) also contains it.

³cf. Nos.24–7.

⁴cf. M. Chandra 1949, figs.93–8.

22 'Shāhnāma'

The Book of Kings, the Persian epic poem on the ancient kings of Iran, which was completed by Firdausi in 400/1009–10 under the patronage of Mahmūd of Ghazni.

The most famous work of Persian literature was the most frequently illustrated manuscript produced in the ateliers of the Iranian rulers, no expense being spared for the copies produced for bibliophiles such as Baisunghur and Shāh Tahmāsp. Innumerable copies were made for lesser patrons using much inferior materials, among which is this manuscript dated 841/1438, one of the prime candidates of provincial Timurid appearance for inclusion in a group of suspected Indian

provenance.

This *Shāhnāma* is generally in a provincial Shirazi style in a sub-Timurid idiom, with 94 paintings of small format mostly occupying horizontal bands across the page. It is in many instances naive to the point of quaintness, and its extreme remoteness from Shiraz undeniable. A provenance in India is suggested by two pieces of evidence. The text of the preface, which is the old one prior to that prepared by Prince Baisunghur of Herat for his 1430 edition of the *Shāhnāma*, and the one almost universally used since, has the additional information that the author Firdausi, when fleeing from his patron Mahmūd of Ghazna, took refuge in India at the court of the King of Delhi, who eventually sent him back to Tus, the poet's birthplace, with rich gifts. This passage is unique, and strongly suggests an Indian provenance for the Ms. This is further supported by the evidence of the pigments, since the yellow mostly used throughout is Indian yellow or *peori*, a pigment prepared from the urine of cows fed on mango leaves.¹ This pigment in the 18th century, when first discovered and used by Europeans, was made only in a village near Monghyr in Bengal. Its manufacture and use may have been more widespread in earlier centuries, but this pigment was not used in Iran at all.

Given the distinct possibility of an Indian origin for this Ms., it is possible to use it to determine criteria for assigning an Indian provenance to other manuscripts. The illumination is ambitious, but comparatively crude, using poor-quality ultramarine. The unoutlined spray of leaves characteristic of Shirazi illumination from about 1370 is used extensively but crudely, with some details added in red. The double-page *'unvān* (ff.10b–11a) employs unequal panels on either side of the central text columns, and utilizes the type of broad straps of blue typical of later Indian illumination. The use of a heavy crimson flourish also perhaps points to India. The complete absence of the delicate curvilinear arabesques which are so typical of Iranian illumination under the Timurids and later the Safavids allows us perhaps to make distinctions between the type of illumination practised in India and Iran, the former being largely based on 14th-century models until the Mughal school. The unoutlined leaf sprays of Shiraz were still in vogue in Bengal in 1531 (No.44).

Although the artist uses the high horizon generally, he is reluctant to take advantage of it to increase the height of his paintings. In this archaicism we may see an incomprehension of the point of the high horizon, and of the possibilities of composition in depth it gives rise to. Only in the mysterious double-page frontispiece (ff.9b–10a) is the latter possibility utilized (this has suffered some damage,

and the eyes have been largely repainted). It is the work apparently of a different artist to the rest of the paintings—his outline of the head for instance has a distinct squareness to the jaw lacking on all the other paintings.

The basic vocabulary of the artist's style is still that of Shiraz—figures, trellises, rolled curtains, clouds in TV aerial shape—and it would be unwise to assume that all sub-Timurid manuscripts employing these clichés must be Indian in the absence of other corroborating evidence.

British Library, London, Or.1403.

Provenance—Collection of Jules Mohl.

ff.513; 27×16.5cm; thin light-brown paper; four cols. *Nasta'liq*, margins, in panels 19.5×12.5cm within gold-ruled margins; one *sarlavh*, and ogival gold medallion, one double-page *'unvān*; 93 miniatures, mostly 7–8.5×12.5cm; many repairs; defaced seals; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1879 p.534. BL 1977 pp.50–1. Stchoukine 1969. Ettinghausen and Fraad 1969.

¹Scott 1932.

23 'Javāmi' al-Hikāyāt'

Illustrated on p.40.

A large collection of anecdotes, tales, and notices, of didactic nature, by Nūr ad-Dīn Muhammad 'Aufi. 'Aufi was born in Bokhara, and travelled extensively before coming to work in Sind and Gujarat for Nāsir ad-Dīn Qubācha. The consolidation of centralized Turkish rule in India under Qutb ad-Dīn Aibak (1206–10) and Iltutmish (1210–36) meant the destruction of semi-independent chiefs like Nāsir ad-Dīn Qubācha, whose power-base was in Sind and the Panjab and on the capture of the latter's fortress of Bhalkar in 1228 by Iltutmish's Vizier, al-Junaydi, 'Aufi transferred to his entourage in Delhi and dedicated to him his collection of anecdotes which he had previously begun at his former master's request. He seems to have remained in Delhi thereafter.

Several copies of this work are known from the 14th century, but this Ms. appears to be the first illustrated copy. Dated 843/1439–40, but with no other details of provenance, it displays features which have been thought to indicate Indian as opposed to Iranian origin. Unlike the group centred round the Mohl *Shāhnāma* (No.22) which display features from Timurid Shiraz, this Ms., to which the Chester Beatty anthology of 1435–6 (p.124) may also be linked, has features possibly direct from the earlier Muzaffarid school of Shiraz, and not filtered through the Timurid style—the large, oval faces for example, and the fondness for building compositions of people in rows. The links of this Ms. with

India are somewhat more tenuous than those of Or.1403, the chief one being the confusion of the artist between a royal parasol and a tent, as on f.40b where the attendant holds a guy rope in the apparent conviction that it is a parasol. Certain aspects of the illumination seem Indian—the old-fashioned heavy use of unoutlined leaf-patterns, with red highlights, the absence of Timurid arabesques, oddities in the geometric construction of the illuminative pattern, the use of broad blue bands in the *sarlavhs*, while the illumination of architecture in the miniatures seems in places distinctly un-Persian (the mosque on f.113a, for example).¹

The 12 original miniatures of this Ms. use the 14th-century format of an almost square shape towards the bottom of the page, and sometimes extending beyond it. Another ten blank spaces left in the same shape were painted in about a century later in a Bokharan style.

The Ms. was certainly in India in the late 18th century, as three more paintings were added in a provincial Mughal style, in an archaizing format, while many of the margins and vacant side panels were filled in with animal paintings and floral decoration (this was a practice the Mughal Emperors favoured—see Nos.58, 76). If the 12 original miniatures are to be regarded as Indian, it would follow from the presence of the Ms. in India from 1440 to the 18th century that the ten 16th-century paintings were also done in India. These are in the style traditionally associated with Bokhara, but there is now considerable evidence that Bokhara-trained artists were working in India in the mid-16th century so that this causes no difficulties (Nos.55, 57). An interesting inscription on the painting on f.430b in the Bokharan style refers to the 'mighty Sultan who rules over all peoples, the master of the kings of the Turks and the Arabs and the Persians' without further identification. Such an inscription in itself suggests an Indian provenance.

British Library, London, Or.11676.

ff.572; 32.5×23cm; paper, creamy-white; remargined; original panels 21×16cm; 25 lines good-quality *Nasta'liq*, marginated in gold, with red and blue lines added on remargining; one ogival medallion, one double-page *'unvān*, four *sarlavhs*; 25 miniatures; modern binding.

Bibliography: BM 1966 p.46. BL 1977 pp.35–6.

¹Meredith-Owens 1965, pp.16–17, pl.IX.

24 'Kalpasūtra' and 'Kālakācāryakathā'

Illustrated on p.44.

The correct Prakrit title of this work is Pajjosanākappasutta, the Book of the Paryushanā Ritual, and it is the 8th



25 f.129. Kālaka and the Sāhi, on a fully illuminated page.

section of the 4th *Chedasutta* of the Shvetāmbara Jaina Canon, the *Daśāśrutaskandha*, and ascribed to the authorship of the sage Bhadrabāhu (fl.300 BC). The *Kalpasūtra* as it is now extant consists of three parts, *Īṇacarita*, the lives of the *Tīrthāṅkaras* (the 24 founders of the Jaina religion), *Sthavīrāvali*, the succession lists of the Jaina pontiffs, and *Samācārī*, rules for monks at the Paryushanā festival.

This manuscript of the work has a problematic dating, in a different hand, of 1403/1346–7, in itself inherently unlikely as the true date as there is no scribal colophon at all on which this addition could be based. Nonetheless, the shape and style of the Ms. denote a relatively early date of about 1400, as does its fine calligraphic hand. Another note in a third hand says the Ms. was presented to the Mahāvīra temple library (*citkoṣa*) in 1505/1448–9. Doubts¹ have been expressed that in fact the latter date is the true date of the Ms. We would argue that both miniatures and calligraphy are sufficiently elegant to make an earlier dating more likely.

There are 49 miniatures in all, a cycle of 36 in the *Kalpasūtra* and 13 in the appended story of Kālaka (No.25). They are in an early version of the popular style which was so abused later in the 15th and 16th centuries with mass production for indiscriminating patrons, but here it still retains its pristine charm. Against a red ground, the figures have their flesh coloured in dulled gold leaf, with details of clothing and architecture coloured blue, green, carmine, and black. The paintings are small in relation to the size of the leaf, which is long and narrow, not too far divorced from a palm-leaf model, and it still retains the off-centre margin and the division of the text into two columns.

Lalbbhai Dalpatbhai Institute, Ahmadabad, Ill. Ms. No.105.

ff.132; 8.5×28cm; paper, smooth and lovely beige colour; six lines of Jaina *Nāgarī*, in two columns, eight and 12cm wide, with margins painted in red; single off-centre red roundel on recto, in all three margins on verso; 49 miniatures, within red and blue borders, about 8.5×6cm; unbound.

Bibliography: M. Chandra and Shah 1975, pp.41–4, figs.1–7, col. pl.1A.

¹Khandalavala and Doshi in JAA p.406, on the basis of its similarity to a Ms. in the National Museum, Delhi, securely dated 1509/1452–3, of exactly the same shape and format.

25 'Kalpasūtra' and 'Kālakācāryakathā'

The *Kalpasūtra* (Book of the Ritual, see No.24) has often appended to it the story of the Jaina monk Kālaka, who changed the date of the Paryushanā festival at which the *Kalpasūtra* was recited. The story of Kālaka used for this purpose is known in many versions in Prakrit and Sanskrit, all of them comparatively late, and in them several different persons with the same name have been confused. The monk who changed the date of the Paryushanā in the 6th century is different from the Kālaka who instigated the invasion of western India by Saka tribes in the 1st century. In the Jaina version of this event Kālaka's sister was abducted by the wicked king of Ujjain, and in order to rescue her Kālaka persuaded the Saka king to invest the city of Ujjain with his forces.

Dated 1428 and copied in the city of Anahillapattan in Gujarat, this manuscript of both texts belongs to the type of lavishly illuminated manuscripts appearing from the beginning of the 15th century, in which the text is written in gold or silver ink on a crimson or blue-black ground, and the margins all decorated with geometrical and arabesque designs,

as well as numerous miniatures. The standards of this type vary greatly, depending on what patronage was available. This one was produced for a patron of some taste, who wanted a rich effect but was not willing to pay the highest price for it. The Ms. ends with the verses giving us the patron's name, Nālha Sādhu, and a eulogy of his good works, his wives, his ancestors and his friends.

India Office Library, London, Skt. Ms. 3177.

ff.154; 8.5×28.5cm; paper, light-brown in tone where visible; six lines of gold or silver Jaina *Nāgarī* on crimson or black ground in two panels on either side of margin 3cm wide off-centred to the left; the panels measuring 6×8.25cm (left) and 6×12cm (right); most margins decorated with arabesque, floral or geometric designs; medallions in centre margins of both recto and verso usually decorated, with three medallions on verso; 49 paintings, 8.5×6.6cm.

Bibliography: IOL 1935, pp.1254, 1261–2, 1381.

26 'Kalpasūtra'

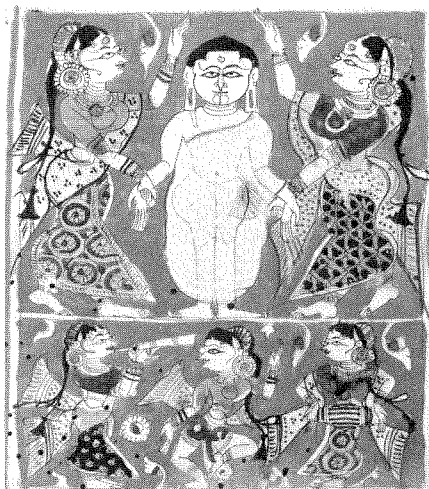
COLOUR PLATE IX

The Book of the Ritual (see No.24).

About the middle of the 15th century, a small group of comparatively sober manuscripts is known from Gujarat, which employ gold sparingly for highlights as well as powdered mother-of-pearl, and with body pigments either yellow or a warm ochre. Their distinction lies mostly in their warm colouring rather than in any particular elegance of draughtsmanship or invention. This Ms. belongs to this group and is dated 1502/1445, with 27 miniatures; it probably comes from Cambay.

British Library, London, Or.13700.

ff.61; 11.25×26cm; thin paper; ten lines Jaina *Nāgarī* between red painted margins 19.5cm apart; 27 miniatures in double red



27 f.16b. A monk aiming at perfect chastity should beware of women.

and yellow frames mostly 11.25 × 6.5–8cm; red medallion on recto, three on verso; f.1b has decorative blue scrollwork among text panel and medallions, and along margins; f.1a has an elaborate pattern in red scrollwork based on a binding medallion with pendants, and with four small ornaments around it.

Bibliography: Losty 1980, fig.7 (repro. of f.2b).

27 'Uttarādhyayanasūtra'

One of the Jaina canonical texts, the last recorded utterance of the Jina Mahāvīra, in Prakrit, attributable in its present format to the early centuries AD. The text is concerned mostly with advice and admonition to the monastic community, but is accompanied usually by commentaries which illustrate the points made in the text by stories, some of them very ancient. The *sūtra* is not very often found in illustrated versions¹; the subjects of the miniatures are usually taken from the commentator's stories, rather than the text.

This copy of the *Uttarādhyayana* is one of the earliest known illustrated versions; although undated, it must be roughly contemporary with No.26, of the mid-15th century. Several of the text folios, including the last five, are 18th-century replacements; the new colophon lacks a date, but says it was done at Stambhatīrtha, i.e. the Jaina stronghold of Cambay on the Gujarat coast. This appears to be copied from the original colophon, and does not refer to the place of replacement of the doubtlessly damaged folios. Cambay was known as a centre of painting, and there is no reason to doubt this.

The Ms. as it is now has 36 miniatures, and probably would have had one or two more. Usually, a single miniature illustrates each of the 36 chapters of the *sūtra*,

with perhaps a concluding extra miniature. It, like No.26, is a somewhat more ambitious manuscript than the standard commercialized format of the 15th century, with a lovely palette range of yellow and red, with details in crimson, blue, green, pink, white and black, and high-lights in mother-of-pearl. The standard flesh colour employed is yellow, against a red ground.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London., I.S.2–1972

ff.47; 11.2 × 30cm; thin, light-brown paper (later replacements on slightly thicker paper); 15 lines of Jaina *Nāgarī*, between margins in red, text 24.5cm wide; slightly left of centre diamond blank in text on each page; 36 paintings, about 11.2 × 10cm, including borders in red and yellow; unbound.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

¹For other illustrated versions, see Losty 1975, and references given there, and Brown 1941.

28 'Kalpasūtra'

COLOUR PLATE X

The Book of the Rituals (see No.24)

This *Kalpasūtra* was copied in 1496/1439–40 at the fort of Mandapadurga (Mandu) in the reign of Sultan Mahmūd (1436–69) for a Jaina monk Kshemahamsa Gani. This Ms. and its companion undated Ms. of the *Kālaka* story (No.29) are stylistically the first considerable advance in Jaina Mss. since those of the late 14th century. The line is infinitely tighter and assured, there is a greater freedom of composition, and a wider range of colours; the artist had also seen some Persian manuscripts of the early 15th century, since he has incorporated the high round horizon into some of his paintings. The concept of a horizon, and the consequent differentiation between ground and sky, was not unknown before this to Jaina painters, since some slightly earlier Jaina manuscripts do show a triangle of blue in one upper corner. However, this is the first time that the high round Persian horizon is properly depicted, although obviously the artist was not prepared to treat it as a structural aid to composition – in some miniatures, he reverts to triangular pieces of sky at the two top corners, in others to a wavy line across the top, which is also the favoured horizon of the *Kālaka* manuscript (No.29).

Against the cherry-red background of the miniatures, the human figures are coloured lovely browns and ochres, against which their garments of pink, blue, white and green are set off to great advantage. The Ms. is remarkable for its range of lovely textiles, employing very different motifs from those common in Gujarati manuscripts of this period, and also for its

details of contemporary furniture – thrones, beds, a lovely crib, etc.

The identity of the artist is not known, but he takes much greater liberties with the iconography and with the subjects, revealing complete ignorance in some cases. Thus Shakra is represented not as a four-armed god, but as a very human king, while in the transfer of the foetus of Mahāvīra, Harinaigamesin is carrying not the usual round object but a fully developed baby. In numerous instances he simply includes scenes never present in other manuscripts – such as Kubera's servants showering the palace with wealth, or Marudevī mounted on an elephant. The artist was obviously not a Jaina, nor did he have access to a standard illustrated version of the text.

The manuscript belongs to the class of richly decorated manuscripts, of which the earliest example is No.24 from Pattan dated 1427. However, the Mandu manuscript seems somewhat unfinished in this respect. The text is written in gold against a crimson ground, while the slightly off-centre margin is richly decorated with floral and geometric designs, but all the outer margins are left blank, in contrast to other manuscripts of this type. The edges of the leaves and most of the central margins have suffered considerable damage. The decorations of the central margins are of very large floral and geometric designs, in red, blue and green (the latter pigment being responsible for the damage). The size of these elements is in marked contrast to the decorations of the 1465 Jaunpur Ms. or that of the Devaseno Pāda Bhandār (No.30) and have little in common with other Indian decorative motifs of the period with the exception perhaps of the 1399 Gwalior Koran (No.18).

National Museum, Delhi, 49.175.

Provenance – Presented by Vijayendra Suri in 1949.

ff.73 (originally – four are missing); 10.2 × 29cm; paper; seven lines of gold *Nāgarī* on crimson ground in two panels divided by slightly left of centre margin, 2.5cm wide and richly decorated; text area in all 7.5 × 24.5cm; 30 paintings, about 10 × 7cm; unbound.

Bibliography: Khandalavala and Chandra 1959 (ff.15b, 43b, 61b. in colour). ND pp.17–21 (f.15b in colour).

29 'Kālakācāryakathā'

COLOUR PLATE XI

The story of the monk *Kālaka* (see No.25).

The text is the long anonymous Prakrit version.¹ The loosening of the traditional Jaina school that is observable in the *Kalpasūtra* painted at Mandu in 1439 (No.28) is also observable in this undated Ms. Like the *Kalpasūtra*, this Ms. is

remarkable, within the Jaina tradition, for its depiction of real, not stereotyped, people. The projecting eye, while still present, is easily removable, leaving its bearer in full profile, while the eye in full view has an upturned rear corner as in the *Caurapañcāsika* style. A version of the high Iranian horizon is attempted, but with less knowledge of its true appearance than in the 1439 Ms. as it has a jagged edge rather than the proper circular one which is seen in the 1439 manuscript. This may possibly indicate a somewhat earlier date.

Lalbbhai Dalpatbhai Institute, Ahmadabad, Ill. Ms. No.103.

ff.24; 10 × 29.5cm; paper; seven lines of Jaina *Nāgarī* between red ruled margins; red stellar pattern on rectos, slightly left of centre, the same plus red roundels in the margins on versos; 19 paintings, about 10 × 7.5cm; unbound.

Bibliography: Chandra 1967. ND, pp.21–3, col. plate 3, figs.20–2.

¹Brown 1933.

30 'Kalpasūtra'

The Book of the Ritual (see No.24).

The tradition of richly illuminated presentation copies of this text reaches its most sumptuous heights in Gujarat itself, with this famous undated Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* in the possession of the Devaseno Pāda Bhandār in Ahmadabad, but from which come various dispersed folios. The Ms. has unfortunately been dispersed before being properly catalogued, so that even the total number of miniatures is not now known, nor has the colophon been fully published. The Ms. was prepared at the request of Sānā and Jūthā who lived at the port of Gandhār, near Broach (on the mouth of the Narmada) but the part of the colophon containing the date is missing. The commissioners must have been extremely wealthy and wanted no expenses spared in producing the most sumptuous effect. The text is written in gold or silver ink on grounds of red, blue, deep purple or black. The miniatures of the *Kalpasūtra* are in a good but not outstanding style of the late 15th century, usually against an ultramarine ground, with lavish use of gold in the figures, and the usual range of other colours. The miniatures of the *Kālaka* story on the other hand seem much more ambitious, and often occupy the full space between the side margins, although the space is not treated as a single unit but broken up into several scenes.

On all the pages, the side margins and the top and bottom margins are painted with the greatest variety of scenes both figurative and decorative. The side margins of the pages with miniatures usually contain a single female figure in a named dancing pose; she is usually in typical



30 f.135. Marginal decorations, including fighting pairs of animals and Muslim horsemen.

Jaina style in three-quarter profile with projecting eye, but occasionally the artist experiments with pulling her face round to eliminate the projecting eye, and also to show her in full face¹. She resembles in these latter poses the type of face seen in the Berlin *Hamzanāma* (No.33) which similarly seems to be the result of experimenting in the depiction of the head at different angles, leaving a very round face with eyes quite close together. All the other margins are illustrated in the fullest detail and liveliest manner with animals, horsemen, landscapes, mythical beings with wings, others riding clouds (of the Chinese-ribbon variety), ships, arabesques, birds, trees, dancers, and many more, providing the greatest source of Indian decorative motifs before the Mughal period. The total effect in terms of taste is of course deplorable, but its perpetrator can only be admired.

There is obviously quite close Iranian influence on the Ms., of which the Chinese ribbon-clouds with rosettes, first seen in Timurid painting of the 15th century, is the most straightforward². Many of the other decorative motifs, however, simply show the range of the Indian imagination in this field and the thorough mingling of native Indian and Iranian motifs which is first observable in the 1399 Koran from Gwalior (No.18), some of whose floral ideas reoccur here.³ The scenes from the *Kālaka* story in which the Sāhi King appears show a large number of variations of turban types, which must for the most part reflect the contemporary dress of Gujarat. At least one of the turban types was still extant in Sind in 1775.⁴ The Sāhi King himself has replaced his old-fashioned *qābā* with Gujarati textiles, and his followers wear a mixture of *jāmas* or *dhotī* and cummerbund. The horses they ride are of the typically Indian arched-neck variety, and are not Timurid in appearance. In short, we feel that the direct Iranian influence on this Ms. has been much exaggerated, and would argue that all of its stylistic con-

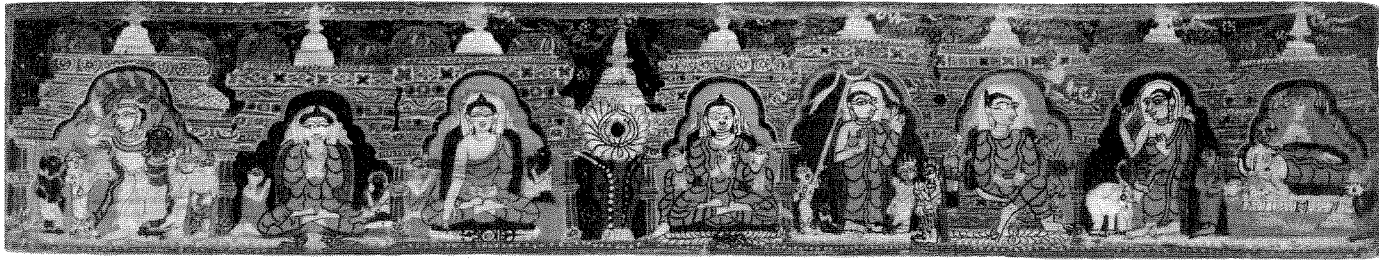
cepts would have existed already in the syncretic culture of 15th-century Gujarat⁵. Its uniqueness is that the artist has been willing to experiment boldly while illustrating a text usually bound by conventional stereotypes. Only one other comparable manuscript has so far been found, a *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* dated 1501 from Pattan⁶, which shows on the evidence of the little of it so far published a similar liveliness of invention, while the 'Persianate' revisions of the traditional concepts of the Sāhi King and his followers such as the new turban and garments are also present. The date usually ascribed to the Broach Ms. of c.1475 seems slightly too early, since behind it there seems to stand some quite widespread Sultanate style of illustrating Persian manuscripts, of which as yet we have no evidence for Gujarat but which could only be in its formative stages by 1475. The dispersed Amīr Khusraw is of possible Gujarati provenance c.1450.⁷ A date nearer 1500 would seem more appropriate for this *Kalpasūtra*, although we would not seek to postulate influence in either direction between it and the Pattan Ms. of 1501.

National Museum, New Delhi, 70–64 (single folio).

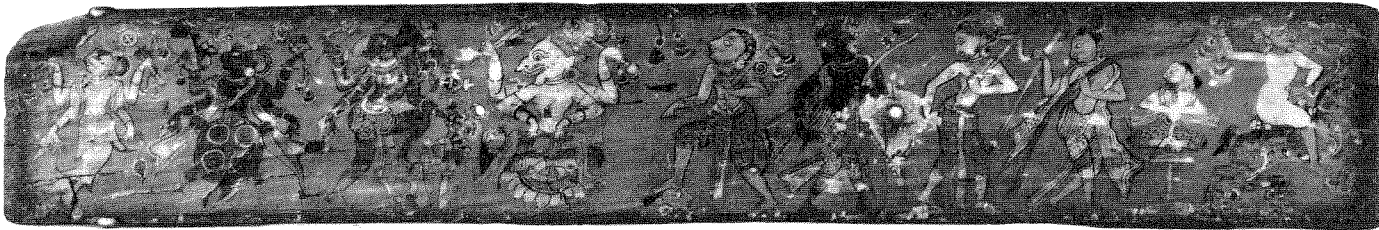
Provenance – ex Devaseno Pāda Bhandār, Ahmadabad.

ff.187; 11.5 × 26.6cm; paper; seven lines of gold or silver *Nāgarī* on coloured ground in panels, 7 × 15.6cm, with margins painted in red and gold or red on plain paper; gold diamond with blue scrollwork in red square, slightly left of centre, marks former stringholes; no marginal medallions on versos; all margins decorated with figurative or arabesque designs; number of miniatures unknown, from about 11.5 × 7.5 to 11.5 × 15cm; unbound.

Bibliography: Brown 1937 (Brown's suggested date is a century too late). ND, pp.29–43, col. plates 5–7, figs.45–96. JAA,



31 Upper interior cover. The eight great episodes from the life of the Buddha.



32 Inner cover. The ten avatars of Vishnu.

Vol.III, col. plates 28A and B, repro. of folio 135.

¹ND, col. plate 5.

²*ibid.*, figs.66-7.

³Compare ND, figs.76, 80, with Welch 1979, No.75.

⁴British Library Or.8758, see Siddiqui 1969.

⁵Brown's publication, drawing attention to the Timurid and earlier elements in the Ms., appeared long before the discovery of any of the Sultanate schools of India. Scholarly criticism has been content to repeat his and Professor Dimand's views long after the new evidence ought to have modified them.

⁶Chandra and Shah 1975, figs.26-9.

⁷Ettinghausen 1961, pl.1.

31 'Kālacakratānta'

A Buddhist Tantric text on the worship of Time.

This palm-leaf manuscript, in a fine state of preservation, was copied by Jayarāmadatta of the *kāyastha* caste (scribes) at Āra in Magadha (*i.e.* Arrah in Bihar, south-west of Patna) in 1503/1446, at the instigation of the pious Buddhists Bhikshu Shriṇāna and Srika as an offering for their teachers, their mother and their father. The Ms. is unillustrated, but written in a most beautiful Maithili/Bengali hand.

The wooden covers are however painted, almost certainly by Jayarāmadatta: on the outside are ten scenes from the *Jātakas* on each cover, under simple round-headed arches with alternate red and green background, while on the upper inside cover are the eight great scenes from the life of the Buddha, all enacted under the Pāla pagoda, and on the lower the seven Mortal Buddhas with attendant Bodhisattvas, again under round-headed arches. The sides of the manuscript are decorated with a *pārsvacitra* in the form of a lotus creeper; this is one of the earliest manuscripts in which this decoration is still visible. Buddhism itself was obviously not totally destroyed by the

Turkish invasions but survived among the laity without the institutionalized monasteries. The copyist, however, was a Hindu who observed the Buddhist tradition of the colophon, but whereas the Buddhist scribes had dated their work by the regnal years of the Pāla monarch, with grandiloquent titles, Jayarāmadatta is forced to use the Hindu epoch of King Vikramāditya giving him the same titles in abbreviated form. The use of Pāla stylistic idioms on the covers sheds some light on what otherwise is a long gap in the development of eastern Indian painting. Pāla idioms seen in these covers of particular note are the use of the stepped *maṇḍapa* under which divinities are depicted, and the lingering habit of showing the standing Buddha complete with throne-back and cushion which we have already drawn attention to above in late Pāla work (p.25). Combined with these Pāla motifs however is the contemporary one of depicting the further eye of faces in three-quarter profile projecting into space, also found in another crude eastern manuscript of 1455;¹ this is a motif universally found in the far more numerous western Indian manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, but its presence here in Bihar shows it to have been a stylistic trait common to eastern as well as western India.

University Library, Cambridge, Add.1364.

ff.128; 5.8 × 33.5cm; talipot leaves; Maithili script; six lines; painted wooden covers, and decorated *pārsvacitra*.

Bibliography: CUL 1883, pp.69-70. Pal 1965.

¹In the collection of Mr Haridas Swali in Bombay. The illustrations on covers and palm leaves are of the greatest crudity, and are little more than line drawings. The projecting further eye is very prominent. See Pal 1966 and Moti Chandra 1971.

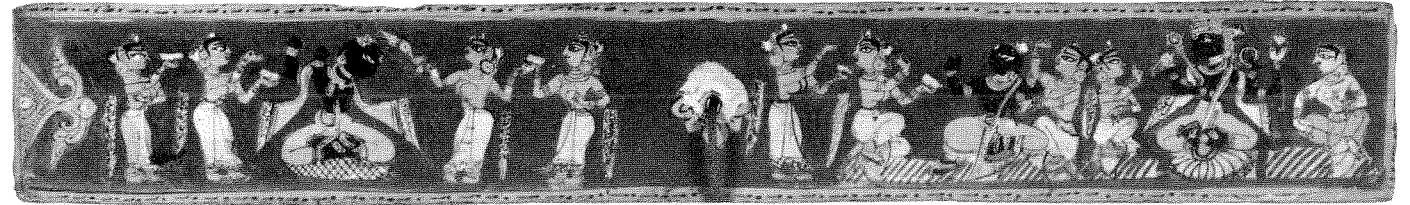
32 Covers of the 'Viṣṇu Purāṇa'

The Sanskrit *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is one of the earliest of this group of texts, datable to about 500, and is concerned with the legends and worship of Vishnu and Krishna. The Ms. which these covers enclose has now vanished, but the colophon is known to have been dated 1421/1499; it is a paper manuscript in the Bengali hand, shaped in close imitation of the palm-leaf format. Its extreme length and narrow width tend to confirm the dating. The covers were originally found in Vishnupur in the Bankura District of south-western Bengal.

The covers are painted on the inner surfaces with the incarnations of Vishnu, which in their angularity and disjointed articulation are the sole survivors from a late medieval Hindu school of eastern Indian painting, between the collapse of the Pālas and the early 16th century. They are the result of the development of the linear traditions of the late Pāla school (Nos.2, 8), and bear witness to the triumph of the linear over the modelled technique in eastern as well as western India. This linear treatment and marked angularity survives in later documents from Orissa (Nos.115-8) and Bengal.¹ Bankura, in south-western Bengal, adjoining Orissa, seems a very likely place of origin for these covers.

The subjects of the paintings are the incarnations of Vishnu, nine of the minor incarnations on one cover, and the ten major ones on the other, although the inclusion of both Balarāma and Krishna has led to the exclusion of Vāmana, the Dwarf. The figures are mostly in dark or light brown, against a red ground.

British Museum, London, 1955-10-8-03. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, I.S.101-1955.



35 Inner cover. Krishna with *gopīs* (cowgirls).

Provenance: found by Ajit Ghose in Vishnupur, then J.C. French Collection; the French collection was divided between the two museums in 1955.

Two wooden covers, bevelled edges; 9 × 56.5cm; painted interiors, plain tops.

Bibliography: French 1927. AB, p.41 (repro. of V.&A. cover). Losty 1980, pp.13-14.

¹A *Rāmacaritāmāsa* in the Asutosh Museum dated 1772-5 (Ghosh 1945) and a *Simhāsanaṭṭisī* in the British Library (Or.13755 - see AB p.47).

33 'Hamzanāma'

Illustrated on p.46.

The Romance of the Amīr Hamza, a Persian epic on the legendary exploits of one of the companions of the Prophet, conflated with those of a 9th-century hero who fought against the infidels.

This text seems to have been especially popular among the Muslims of India, doubtless because of its topical nature. In addition to this Sultanate version, it was the first major undertaking of the studio set up by Akbar, who wanted a manuscript on a gigantic scale (No.54).

This *Hamzanāma* manuscript is perhaps only slightly later in date, and is decidedly more Indian in treatment, than the dispersed Amīr Khusraw Ms. The viewpoint is still the horizontal, against a plain ground. Wavy stripes sometimes denote a horizon, but it is essentially irrelevant to the composition. All the figural types as we have seen are based completely on the normal Jaina ones, in contrast to the Middle-Eastern figural type of the Amīr Khusraw Ms.

Although the artist was working in a tradition only just removed from the Jaina, we cannot follow Stchoukine and argue that the provenance must therefore be Gujarat, as the Jaina tradition was known from Delhi, Jaunpur and Mandu, as well as Gujarat and Rajasthan. Pramod Chandra more convincingly points to the resemblances between the *Hamzanāma* and the Digambara manuscripts of the 15th century from Delhi, and it does seem to us that a northern origin for the *Hamzanāma* is more likely, as the Jaina tradition from which the *Hamzanāma* springs seems more akin to the Delhi and Jaunpur manuscripts than the Gujarati ones. The Ms. however cannot have been

illustrated in a court milieu. We would date it to about 1450.

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Berlin, Ms. or. fol.4181.

ff.353; 32 × 21.5cm; paper; 16 lines of mixed *Nasta'liq* and *Naskhī* in panels 24 × 16cm with margins ruled in triple red lines; headings in a large bold hand; 189 miniatures, mostly about one-third of the panel; red leather binding.

Bibliography: Kramer 1956, No.73. IHH, pp.144-63, pl.41-3, col. pl.9. ND, pp.50-3, col. pl.9, and figs.117-26. P. Chandra 1976, p.34, pl.71-2.

34 'Candāyana'

Illustrated on p.47.

Candāyana is a poem on the romance of the two lovers Laur and Chandā composed in the Avadhī dialect of Hindi by Maulānā Dā'ūd from Dolman, near Kanpur, in 779/1389 during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, and dedicated to his Vizier, Jahān Shāh, son of Khān Jahān Maqbūl. It was the most popular of all texts for illustration in the Sultanate period, and no less than five pre-Mughal illustrated manuscripts have survived, in five different styles (see also Nos.44-5). It is one of the earliest attempts by an Indian Muslim to write in the language of the people and not that of the conquerors.

This Ms. is the oldest of the group, and like all the others is remarkable for its format, being entirely composed of full-page paintings in the vertical format with the text, in the Arabic script in each case, written on the verso.¹ Avadhī Hindi was spoken in the present eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, from Lucknow to Jaunpur. Dā'ūd's poem was dedicated to a high noble in Delhi, probably not familiar with the language. The original presentation copy may therefore have been heavily illustrated in this fashion, drawing on a format of Hindu manuscripts of which none has survived from the 14th century, while other manuscripts are based ultimately on this lost original. That paintings were present at Firūz Shāh's court we know from his orders to have them obliterated!

This earliest surviving illustrated version of the *Candāyana* is in a primitive style that is not far removed from a Jaina

original and is datable to 1450-70. We have seen that we may look for the production of illustrated versions of this manuscript to areas other than Jaunpur and eastern Uttar Pradesh, and it is possible that Pramod Chandra is correct in assigning this particular copy along with the *Hamzanāma* (No.33) to the Delhi region.² However, in its almost invariable use of a pavilion-structure under which to depict the story's characters, it shows distinctly eastern characteristics derived from the Pāla style which survive until the 18th century. In this it resembles the Benares pages of this text, and it is possible that both come from eastern Sultanates such as Jaunpur or Bengal.³

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Berlin, Ms. or. fol.3014.

ff.141; 24.5 × 14cm; cream-coloured paper; nine lines of *Naskhī* in two columns in panels 15.5 × 10cm; rubrics in Persian; 140 illustrations about 21 × 12.5cm; dark-brown leather binding.

Bibliography: UH, p.52 (repro. of f.84a).

¹Only this and No.46 are comparatively complete Mss. However the Bombay Ms. (No.45) has about 80 folios similarly arranged, so that we are justified in assuming this format for the more fragmentary manuscripts in the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums (24 folios) and in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares (five folios).

²P. Chandra 1976, p.34 (with reprints of two unidentified folios, pl.69-70). For Jaina paintings from Delhi and Gwalior, see JAA, pp.415-8.

³Krishnadasa 1955-6. The Benares leaves are at least 25 years later than the Berlin manuscript.

35 'Piṅgalatattvavyākhyā'

An anonymous commentary in Sanskrit on the principles ascribed to Piṅgala in the *Prākṛtapaiṅgala* on Prakrit prosody. The sage Piṅgala, of indeterminate date, but earlier than Bharata (2nd century AD?) is credited with the earliest codification of rules on Sanskrit metres, but the work on Prakrit metres is in fact a very much later work, probably not earlier than the 14th century.

This palm-leaf manuscript is important not so much for its text but for its binding boards, which have painted interiors. The colophon is dated in the year 371 of the Lakṣmanasena era (AD 1491-2) and the script used is the Maithili, a script very close to the Bengali; the Ms.'s provenance is thus fixed in Mithila, *i.e.* Bihar north of